75 CENTS JUNE 30, 1975

CRIVE WHY-AND WHAT TO DO

Special Report

KOREA:

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NUMBERS

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BRINE, ATWATER, TIVNAN, WILLIAMS, FERRER, MELILLO

A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

"One policeman covered the front of the apartment building while the other ran to the back, with me close behind. Gun drawn, he

scaled a fence to the rear yard. I jumped the fence right after him. So reported our San Francisco bureau chief Joseph Boyce in one of his files for this week's cover story on crime in the U.S. The episode -a false alarm on a burglary-in-progress-took place while Boyce was on assignment in Chicago, riding prowl cars in the city's Woodlawn section, a neighborhood whose crime-stalked alleyways Boyce had known intimately in the early 1960s as a policeman on the Chicago force. Boyce's return to Woodlawn was part of an effort by all of TIME's domestic bureaus to reassess the nation's continuing and increasing crime problem. Correspondents across the U.S. interviewed sources on every side of the issue: criminals in prison and out, law enforcement officials, crime victims and criminologists. In New York, Reporter-Researcher Edward Tivnan talked with defense lawyers, prosecutors and social workers about the juvenile justice system, while Reporter-Researcher Nancy I. Williams pored over crime statistics and Picture Researcher Antoinette Melillo worked on illustrating

the resulting twelve-page report. Journalistically as well as socially, the crime problem proved to be all-embracing. Senior Editor Ruth Brine, who directed the project, decided that the subject demanded an interdisciplinary approach involving three departments of the magazine. Associate Editor James Atwater of the Nation section surveyed President Ford's message to Congress on crime, and the sheer dimensions of the situation Ford sought to address. Staff Writer John Leo, whose usual province is the Behavior section, traced the dovetailing economic, demographic and moral currents that underlie the crime explosion. Associate Editor Jose M. Ferrer III, who has written our Law section since 1967. wrote the third part of the report, which deals with solutions to the crime problem. In the course of his research for the story, Ferrer often found himself tapping the same crime experts who were being consulted by White House aides working on Ford's policy statement. As it turned out, when it was delivered at week's end, the final version of the presidential message incorporated several proposals similar to the reforms Ferrer suggests in the cover story.



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SPECIAL REPORT:

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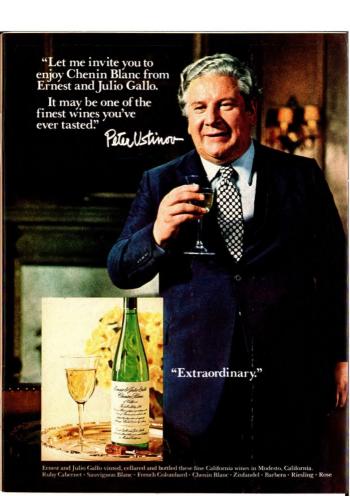
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TR7: THE SHAPE





A Bicentennial Fanfare

To the Editors:

Wonderful! Inspiring! Exciting! An unforgettable experience

Janet L. Pathak Tucson

Your silly issue on Independence was insulting. We don't live in America any more. True, we still have a dream, but as a country, forget it

Andrew Bundlie Moorhead, Minn.

You devoted an issue to Independence. Now, how about devoting one to freedom? Independence was but a means to an end. Does it still serve that end? No. I'm sure the majority of the founding fathers would agree with me. Herb Frank Lakeport, Calif.

It is interesting to speculate on the letters TIME might have received had your Bicentennial issue actually appeared in 1776. For example

'Let's hope the Continental Congress does something about women's rights. Or are we girls supposed to simply stay at home to cook and sew?

"Ms. Betsy Ross, Philadelphia Edward Steinberg Silver Spring, Md

When I reached out to douse the light after reading the 1776 issue. I was amazed to find no candle to snuff Thanks for reminding me of my her-

itage-warts and all.

Jean Donohue

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Congratulations to TIME for injecting flesh and blood into the statues of the American Revolution. You have presented those figures as human beings. wrestling with not-so-unfamiliar problems, experiencing the human emotions -with nobility and banality, wisdom and foolishness, courage and fear-that we know, and out of all this, planting the seed of history's greatest democracy You permitted us to see that our founding fathers were not larger than life, except in the ideals that inspired them This is an invaluable lesson for our time Thanks for teaching it with such lively imagination.

Nelson A. Rockefeller Vice President Washington, D.C.

The July 4, 1776, issue of TIME has the unique appeal of putting historic developments in modern context. As we

read the various accounts, we relive the emotions and events of that period

It is equally true now, as then-it was the worst of times, but it also was the best of times. The fabric of America's history is woven through with great challenges that have been met with confidence and faith by its people.

What began as an experiment in self-government has culminated in a strong and vital nation with world leadership responsibilities. We have a proud heritage. This special 1776 issue high-

lights that period of time when America's character was formed. Hubert H. Humphrey

U.S. Senator, Minnesota Washington, D.C.

It is unfortunate that TIME was not in print 200 years ago so that perhaps subsequent generations in America might have been aware of the pernicious enmity that has long existed between North and South Viet Nam; consequently, recent American leaders might have let the two parties resolve their own sanguinary differences without U.S. interference Henderson W. Colley

Boulder, Colo.

Especially because of your review of the first volume of Edward Gibbon's The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. I feel obliged to point out that the Bicentennial of American independence will also be the 1,500th anniversary of the fall of the Roman Empire in the West in 476. A better coincidence you couldn't find.

Susan L. Ehlers Seattle

You reminded us clearly that colonial America bore little resemblance to the comfortable, socially amenable, insect- and disease-free Williamsburg restoration

I love the romanticism of Williamsburg, but perhaps we can revive the rugged American Dream without fantasying it into a never-never land impossible of realization.

Deborah Wing Sarasota, Fla.

What nerve-featuring a radical on the cover of your Bicentennial issue!

Rainh Cox

Lawrence, Kans. Why didn't you include important

and interesting facts about American musical composers of that era? Charles Hall

Santa Cruz, Calif.

Musical performances were banned at the time that our issue went to press, i.e., July 1776.

Your 1776 issue seems to perpetuate the myth that the British were our enemies in our country's early history. In reality, however, we were a British colony about as long as we have been an independent nation. During that entire period, only the final decade was marked by any considerable ill will between us and England. During most of that time, our colonial forebears probably enjoyed about as much political freedom as exists in the U.S. today

Indeed, if the British had not bailed us out, we might not even be here today. We vividly remember the heroes of the American Revolution; yet we seem quick to forget about the thousands and thousands of British soldiers who died for our country during the French and Indian Wars.

Robert M. Ferrera Villanova, Pa.

In regard to "Where to Take the Waters," it is interesting to note that the location of the only hospital constructed for the Continental Army was Yellow Springs, Chester County, Pa. Yellow Springs, site of an iron spring, was a popular colonial spa serving 400 to 600 guests a day in 1774.

General George Washington and his army camped at Yellow Springs the night of September 17, 1777, and he visited the hospital there on May 13, 1778 According to a letter of Dr. Craik, Val-

ley Forge "His Excellency went out to the Yellow Springs Two days ago to Visit the

TIME, JUNE 30, 1975

THE VOLVO 164.

You can't create a luxury car by tacking on "luxury features." One of the things that makes the Volvo 164 truly elegant is a total absence of tackiness.

NO OPERA WINDOWS Tiny side windows are all the rage. But to Volvo, they're outrageous. The 164 has big windows that let you see out instead of little ones that keep outsiders from section:

NO FANCY INTERIOR DECOR GROUP Volvo's bucket seats were designed by an orthopedic specialist, not an interior decorator. They adjust to your every inclination, youn "soff" or "firm". The driver's seat is heated. And

there's leather everywhere you sit.

NO 400 CUBIC INCH V-8 Volvo's 3-litre six has enough "50" for any well-balanced person. And enough economy - 22 mpg on the highway? Volvo's computerized fuel injection has electronic sensors that monitor speed, altitude and temperature to determine proper fuel mixture.

*U.S. Gov't. EPA figures. 9/74

NO FAKE WOOD VENEER
Volvo covers its dashboard with instrumen-

tation. A tachometer, trip mileage indicator and electric clock are standard. There's even a light that warns if an important light goes out.

The luxury car for people who think.

NO STATUS HOOD ORNAMENT

The Volvo driver doesn't require constant reassurance. Nor does be need to be reminded what ear he's driving. Unlike other cars today, the 164 isn't a copy of anything.

NO DECALED-ON PIN STRIPING

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NO LONG OPTIONS LIST

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FORUM

hospitals himself and found them in fine order, he Spoke to every person in the Bunks which pleased the Sick exceedingly."

Carol S. Roark Research Historian Chester Springs, Pa

As a postal employee, I have naturally been concerned with delays in mail service. Imagine my horror when I delivered your issue dated July 4, 1776 Harry Liversiedge Memphis

Your special 1776 issue is the type of Bicentennial recognition that should lead the way

Let's not get gushily sentimental. fatuous, vulgar, idiotic, by advocating dressing up in colonial attire, getting sloppy guzzling old colonial grog in reconstructed 1776-style inns, rapturizing over the usual glamour figures and their myths. Even Jefferson on your cover would blush in his reluctance to be so glamorized

Let's concentrate on what still needs to be done. After 200 years of up-anddown effort, it's now time, long due, to reassess our progress and make our land the exciting example of democracy it was meant to be

Allan M. Pitkanen Northridge, Calif

Two hundred years have passed since the American Revolution. And the message of that Revolution has been heard throughout the world. The principles of national independence, representative democracy, and civil liberties which were the basis of our Revolution have served as incentives to countless revolutionaries in Latin America. Africa. Asia and Europe

Sometimes, however, I think that we have done a better job of exporting our principles than of applying them to public policy here at home. Two hundred years after the Boston Tea Party, multinational corporations and monopolistic practices continue to stifle competition and free enterprise. Nearly 200 years after the adoption of the Bill of Rights, the right to dissent is still threatened by governmental action. And, perhaps most ironically, after 200 years we often find ourselves identified with repressive and reactionary regimes abroad

As the nation approaches the third century of the Revolution, it is time to reconsider the principles which created that revolution-and to apply them to the making of public policy

George McGovern U.S. Senator, South Dakota Washington, D.C.

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TIME June 30, 1975 Vol. 105, No. 27

COVER STORY CRIM

America has been far from successful in dealing with the sort of crime that obsesses Americans day and night-1 mean street crime, crime that invades our neighborhoods and our homes-murders, robberies, rapes, muggings, holdups, breakins-the kind of brutal violence that makes us fearful of strangers and afraid to go out at night

So said President Gerald Ford last week as he sent a special message to Congress on a subject that has long plagued the nation and frustrated several Administrations: the nation's continuing crime wave

Ford's characterization of anticrime efforts as being "far from successful" is a major understatement. After all the past rhetoric and all the past campaigns against crime, conditions only got worse Even as the White House was preparing the message to Congress, the incidents of violence and stealth that have terrorized so many millions of Americans were continuing across the nation In one 72-hour period, eleven persons were killed in Atlanta, six by gunfire In Detroit Beach, Mich., a woman watching her four-year-old grandson at play saw him stabbed to death by a teenage boy who was apparently after the 40¢ that the child had in his pocket. In New York City this spring, police charged a gang of six teen-agers-one of whom was 13-with murdering three elderly and penniless men by asphyxiation. One man died with his prayer shawl stuffed into his mouth Directed at a problem of this inten-

sity and scope. Ford's message was generally devoid of optimistic promises. It was realistic about the limited role that the Federal Government can play in fighting crime, which is largely under state and local jurisdiction. The main thrust of Ford's proposals was to ensure that serious offenders go to prison. In this he seemed to reflect a growing consensus of both liberals and conservatives Ford called for mandatory jailing, with certain exceptions, of persons who commit violent offenses under federal jurisdiction. He also urged a reform of the chaotic system of federal laws. State legislatures should follow suit, he suggested and he asked Congress to authorize \$6.8

billion for Law Enforcement Assistance Administration grants to local and state governments between now and 1981. In several states, victims of crimes receive compensation for their physical injuries; Ford now proposes awards of up to \$50,000 for those hurt in federal crimes

In one major respect, the President's recommendations were disappointingly weak. Although he agreed with countless criminologists that handguns "play a key role" in the current rise of violent crime. Ford failed to endorse measures that many experts believe are necessary to stop that increase. He declared himself "unalterably opposed to federal registration of guns or gun owners." He did. however, make one important proposal a ban on the manufacture, assembly or sale-though not the possession-of 'domestic tranquillity' and making America safe for decent. law-abiding citizens."

TIMI devotes this threepart report to the challenging problem. The first part describes the current crime wave and the way Americans are coping with it. The sec-

ond section explores the causes of crime What to do about it? The conclusion explains that, short of desirable but unlikely societal cure-alls, there are specific reforms in the juvenile- and criminal-justice systems that could help reduce crime

STATISTICS: ALL TRENDS ARE UP

By any measurement, crime has become an ominous national problem Since 1961 the rate for all serious crimes has more than doubled. From 1973 to 1974 it jumped 17%-the largest increase in the 44 years that national statistics have been collected

Violent crime has had an even sharper increase. In the past 14 years, the rate of robberies has increased



BUFFALO POLICE COLLARING A MAN SUSPECTED OF HEISTING A COMPANY PAYROLL "Murders, robberies, rapes, muggings, holdups, break-ins..."

'Saturday night specials," the cheap, easily concealed pistols that have been flooding American cities and turning thousands of quarrels and robberies into murders

In sending his message to Congress. the President insisted that he was not talking about law-and-order, the Nixon slogan that turned out to be so empty Yet, Ford added, "we can and must make our legal system what it was always intended-a means of ensuring

255%, forcible rape 143%, aggravated assault 153% and murder 106% (see chart). Preliminary reports to the FBI this year show that the rate for violent crimes as well as property crimes like burglary is still sharply on the rise. Says a Chicago cop: "You just can't paint the picture too bad."

Although cities have the highest rates of crime, the rate of increase is now actually greater in the suburbs (up 20% last year) and in rural areas (up

THE NATION



21%). In Milford, Conn., once a peaceful small city on Long Island Sound, assaults were up 303% and burglaries 78% in 1974 over 1973, and the figures are still climbing. The main culprits there are gangs of white, middle-class youths. they have so terrorized some residents that they do not report thefts and heatings for fear of reprisals

In the country town of Bluffton, Ga., robbers broke into a grocery store, lined up the four employees and executed each with a shot in the back of the head That week five other people were killed in the rural areas of Georgia. According to a Harris poll taken in March. Southerners are more worried about crime than other Americans

Of all crime statistics, homicide figures are the most reliable: a body count -more than 20,000 in 1974-shows that Americans are killing each other in wholesale lots, and randomly as well Traditionally, murders have crimes of passion or the outcome of quarrels between relatives or friends. As far as police can determine, 34% of the 1,554 people killed in New York City in 1974 did not know their assailants Of all violent crimes, 65% are committed against strangers

CRIMINALS: YOUNG AND VIOLENT

Since so few burglars, rapists and muggers are caught (only 20% of the FBI's 10 million reported crimes resulted in arrests last year), the profile of the criminal is hard to draw. Some basic facts are indisputable, however. Almost half of all arrests are of teen-agers and young adults; indeed, 15 is the peak age for violent crimes. Forty-four percent of the nation's murderers are 25 or younger, and 10% are under 18. Of those

arrested for street crimes, excluding murder, fully 75% are under 25 and 45% are under 18.

The youths who are terrorizing the cities often belong to gangs, but gone are the old-style rumbles with switchblade knives and zip guns (see box page 12) Even criminals are frightened to work the streets in big-city areas. "I myself walk light when I'm in the ghetto," says a Chicago holdup man, "I know the value of life has no weight. These younger criminals, they're sick. They have no motive for what they're doing.

A high proportion of today's criminals are black. Of those arrested for murder last year, 56% were blacks; for rape, 45%; for robbery, 63%; for burglary and larceny-theft, 30%. The victims are also mostly black. Of the nation's murder victims last year, 51% were black. Although interracial rape seems to be increasing, most black rapists still assault black women, just as most white rapists assault white

The majority of criminals are male. but an increasing number of females are joining their ranks. Of those arrested for larceny-theft last year, 33% were female. Women are also becoming more violent. In the Coney Island section of Brooklyn, a gang of young black women has been assaulting and robbing dozens of old people for the past six months. two victims died of heart attacks that resulted from beatings by the gang

About 70% of all adults imprisoned for serious crime are repeaters who have already been in jail at least once before Many are on parole or probation. One man in Houston was arrested for thievery and released eleven times in 18 months without ever going to trial. The same is true for juvenile criminals. A study done by Marvin E. Wolfgang, a so-



CRIME.

ciologist and law professor at the University of Pennsylvania, showed that 627 out of 10,000 youths in Philadelphia became chronic offenders. They were responsible for two-thirds of the violent acts and 52% of all offenses committed by the group over an eight-year period.

THE CITIES:

Within the U.S., crime, and the way people cope with it, wary widely from city to city. Houston, for example, sprawls over 500 square miles, and its population of blacks and Mexicans and the control of the control of

Large sections of Chicago's West and South sides, on the other hand, are canyons of fear at night, the bailiwick of stickup men and roaming bands of toughs. As in other crime-ridden cities, elderly Chicagoans are nervous about going out, especially when they see their apartment buildings ringed by young hoodlums on the days when welfare and Social Security checks arrive.

Last year the highest homistide run in any metropolitian area was in Atlanta, a city that is now 55% black, with an unemployment rate of 9.3%; a large population of peor, people, and a city, that it is estimated, would provide two weapons for every man, woman and child. A study made by a mathematician at MLT showed that one out of every eleven children been in Atlanta in 1974 who stayed in the city would eventually use the continued to grow as it has in the past.

Everywhere, the ghettos have the highest rates of crime. Especially vulnerable are sprawling public housing complexes like Atlanta's Bankhead Courts, where 90% or more of the 2900 families are on welfare and are headed by females. Some of the families have been burglarized half a dozen times or more in the past year. Welfare checks are stolen regularly, along with easily solid items like TV sets. Mothers tell store of their welfare of the proposed of the pro

apartments while they are in another
The fear of violent attack haunts De-

troit, where the murder rate is second to Atlanta's Says Mariorie Giesseman a white teacher in a day-care center. "I found myself walking down the street one day thinking about being shot. I realized how stupid that was, so I angrily stomped along determined not to die. But you are aware of crime all the time here. Life could end any time." A black woman who teaches black literature at the University of Detroit is equally frightened. "As much as I fight it. I can't overcome the terror I feel when I see young black boys in the building at night. Sometimes it's so embarrassing. A group of them were approaching me in a corridor one night, and they turned out to be my students.

DEFENSES: GUNS AND WATCHDOGS

Because of their fears, millions of Americans are arming themselves, "We're getting a lot of nice upper-class couples who are buying pistols," says James Bell Jr., vice president of Bell's Gun and Sport Inc. in Franklin Park.

PORTRAIT OF A GANG LEADER

His small, round badge of courage is on his back the puckerds say left by a bullet wound. He is proud of the scar, and prouder still that he can shrug it off as an accepted part of his life-style. "Almost everybody's been shot," smiles such the 19-year-old black youth known as the Bartender," all ender of one of the street gangs that flourish in the Los Angeles area.

Bartender is known as Lyle Joseph Thomas on police records and his dossier is full. He has been arrested eleven times on charges that include assault on a police officer, simple assault, strong-

e scar. venile justice, he has never served time in jail.

-style. With both of his parents working.

Bartender grew up on his own in suburban Compton, gradually drifting into trouble. "They hate me," he says of his mother and father, who had just kicked him out of the house when TIME Correspondent Joseph N. Boyce came past to talk. "They take turns getting on my ass."

armed robbery and possession of a car-

bine. But, thanks to the vagaries of ju-

A high school graduate, Bartender is intelligent and knows it ("I used to see the brothers writing graffiti on the walls-spelling names wrong. I decided I wanted to help them"). He makes \$121 a week as a porter at Kaiser Foundation Hospital, but his real life belongs to the Piru, the street gang of about 150 members who hang around Compton's Leuders Park taking drugs, playing basketball and planning robberies and burglaries. "I do my share," acknowledges Bartender, explaining: "People be broke." But mainly the Piru plots, attacks and defends itself against its hated enemies, the local chapter of the Crips which is perhaps the most vicious and largest street gang in the area. (The Crips got its name when its leader was shot in the leg and thereafter strutted

The rivalry between the two gangs started with fistlights four years ago in the high school cafeteria. Then someone brought his mother's gun to school, and the killing started. Now the battles are called "gang-bangs" and they are colled "gang-bangs" and they are offen settled by blass from saved-off shuguns and 38s. Police estimate that about ten members of the Piru and the Crips have been killed to date. "People get high and just don't care sometimes. Bartender explains. "Somebody says go do something, and every body is game for it because they don't want to look the they're seared. At the beginning, the they're seared. At the beginning the they're seared. At the volume to the care of the collection of the collection

Bartender's courage often came from marijuana, cocaine, acid, "whites" (amphetamines) and "reds" (Seconal). They are still easy to get and so are guns. "You can get any kind of a "roscoe"—twelve-gauge shotiguns, four-ten shotiguns, 9-mm. pistols, 38s. 357-cal. Magnums, I remember one person outside

the gang even had a flamethrower. Asked what he thinks of the juvenile justice system, Bartender laughs and responds, "I wish I were still a juvenile." Now that he is 19 and for the first time answerable for his crimes as an adult. Bartender sometimes talks about quitting the Piru. "This year I have a job Next year I'll have a car and a pad." But in the next breath, he talks of his loyalty to the gang, the fact that if he were to quit, "there's more chance of those left getting downed [killed] quick. Besides, I live in Crip neighborhood-I'd still get messed with when I got to my pad. The only way to stop is to get out of Compton, and that's something that's not easy to do.







PURSE SNATCHERS AT WORK IN DENVER

idents of the East Third Street Block Association are being given a pocket device to carry on the street. When activated, it will set off a loud alarm attached to a nearby building, alerting neighbors to call the police. Across the country the demand is booming for security suards. Banks and

Across the country into demant is soming for security guards. Banks and office buildings are now hiring professional guards in place of cluderly pensioners who used to double as juntors and messenger boys. Denver has 2.469 private cops, compared with a police force of 1.400, Nationwide, the army of private guards now nearly equals the number of policy.

Guard dogs are also popular, both at home and at work. German shepherds or Doberman pinschers can be turned sworn to eradicate crime in the ghetto area by fair means or foul. Late at night and early in the morning, members of the group walk the avenues and afleys of their neighborhood, meting out their own law-and-order to those they consider criminals. "Every now and then, folks dealing in dope get their doors kicked in and their shit messed up," says one member of the unit. "When we find someone doing wrong, we wear his ass out. A purse-snatcher might end up with two broken hands." The vigilantes, however, do not always escape unscathed So far, two have been stabbed while making their rounds

The impoverished streets of Woodlawn are a world removed from Sugar Creek, a country-club housing development outside Houston, where electronic

MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL JAVELINS GANG FLAUNTING WEAPONS IN NEW YORK CITY
"You are aware of crime all the time, Life could end any time."

VIOLENT CRIME IN THE U.S.

100 AGGNA TEG AG

Illi. "They're even getting his-and-her guns." About 40% of Bell's clientele are female—young working women as well as elderly widows. Other weapons favored by frightened women: the oldfashioned hatpin, a lear-gas capsule, a can of oven cleaner (which contains)

In Chicago, the 1,500-member Coalition of Concerned Women in the War on Crime has launched Operation Whistlestop. When they spot trouble, residents of certain high-crime areas rush to the scene, blowing their whistles. In lower Manhattan, some 135 resVIGILANTES: FAIR MEANS OR FOUL

As a further means of protection. A markans are forming wighner gouge. In mixed the metal meighborhoods of major cities, mental neighborhoods of major cities, mental neighborhoods of major cities, ment come home from the office. hurry through dinner and then nearby streets. Usually they are armed with nothing more than clubs and whistles. In Chicago's Woodlawn, a secret order of the mental neighborhood with the neighborhood wit

loose at night in a store, or leashed, can

patrol with a trainer. "Since the beginning of the year, business has been un-

real," says Chuck Stewart, who manag-

es Continental Canines Inc. in Los

Angeles. "We've got dogs at doctors' of-

fices, waterbed stores, landscapers, dress

sentries stand watch over houses costing up to \$250,000. Should an entry be attempted while no one is at home. a re-sponses. Within seconds, all lights in the house are turned on. Forty seconds in them the composer against the main them the composer against the main stellands of the second of the second stellands of the second of the second second of the second of the second per machine the address and place number of the endangered home, plus the exact time of the message

Since the first families moved into Sugar Creek four years ago, the worst 'crimes' have been youthful pranks broken windows, street lights shot out with BB guns. The sort of thing, in fact, that used to worry policemen in thousands of communities across the country. That was before crime became a blight on America, the dark side of a so-ciety declicated to freedom.

THE CAUSES

This is not the first time the nation has been shocked by the scope of its crime problem. In the middle and late 19th century, sudden prosperity. immigration and the dislocations of the Civil War produced several crime waves. In 1855 the gang population of New York stood at 30,000, and one gang posted notices that any policeman wandering into its neighborhood would be shot. At the turn of the century, Chicago saloonkeepers could expect to be held up every three or four days. Innocent gas-meter readers were being shot by paranoid householders. Newspapers observed that there were too many six-year-old boys roaming the streets armed with knives and guns, and the mayor of Chicago suggested that the crime problem would be solved if citizens would "carry revolvers strapped outside their clothing." In San Francisco, a brawling town with more than 8,000 saloons, no streets were safe at night; murder, shanghaiing and piracy were facts of life.

Outside the cities, conditions were not much better. It is both legend and fact that in much of the South and West. differences were commonly settled by the gun or the noose. America pushed west with extraordinary violence, and the easy justification for its use goes deep into the American character, helping to create one of the world's highest rates of violent crime. Though world statistics are notoriously unreliable, only a few countries-including Colombia and Mexico, with their macho pride-report higher homicide rates. But obviously such a tradition in itself does not explain today's soaring incidence of crime. "Everything we touch hits the next question," said one sponsor of a university conference on the causes of crime. Following are some of the current theories about crime, no one of which, to be sure. fully explains it:

SOCIETY: THE BREEDING GROUNDS

According to most sociologists, as freedom increases, so does crime. Savs Marvin Wolfgang: "Historically and cross-culturally, the countries that have greater amounts of individual liberty and freedom have probably experienced a greater amount of social deviance. But that is one of the values we extol -freedom to be different." Neither China nor the U.S.S.R. releases crime statistics, but China's problem, for example, is apparently minimal, presumably because of heavy indoctrination and severe social controls. Although its crime rate is rising the Soviet Union seems to have far less cause for alarm than the IIS

England, which has individual liberty but also a largely homogeneous population, still has a relatively low crime rate. So does Japan. "Homogeneity is an important factor." says Wolfgang. "It promotes a social bond and collectivity, a sense of all of us being allies and together. In the highly heterogeneous countries, the pluralism of ethnic groups tends to promote a separateness, anonymity and allienation."

Wolfgang believes that "subcultures of violence" are sometimes created by groups with values at odds with those of the larger society. In such groups, "quick resort to physical combat as a move ahead legitimately, while others trample the rules, and crime soars.

Contemporary sociologists blame America's excessive stress on material gains which are, however, often denied people (Columbia's Robert K. Merton) or the bitterness of being a failure in a society that is supposed to offer equal chances to all (Harvard's Seymour Lipset). But frustrated goals by themselves are insufficient explanations; after all, why not work for those goals instead of breaking the law? Answer: either because no work is available or because the jobs that are available are too readily scorned-especially when crime seems profitable and only rarely punished This rather common-sense view is ex-



THE MURDER OF NEW YORK CITY POLICE OFFICER JOHN SMEDICK IN 1868

measure of daring, courage or defense of status appears to be a cultural expression." Violence is normal, expected behavior in some youth gangs.

Many theorists believe that rapid economic development breeds crime. An Asian official once asked Norval Morris, now the dean of the University of Chicago Law School, how his country could avoid a high rate of juvenile crime. Morris replied: Just make sure your people remain illiterate, backward hopeless and confined to their isolated villages for most of their lives. Morris was echoing the theory of the great French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), who wrote about crime as an essential feature of a developing society and a predictable byproduct of rapid social change. Great bursts of crime occur when sudden prosperity or quick technological development unleashes "overweening ambition," wrote Durkheim. Expectations rise to unreasonable heights, and in the economic stampede that follows, some people

pressed by Harvard Government Professor James Q. Wilson in his new book Thinking About Crime (Basic Books). Writes Wilson: "The benefits of work and the costs of crime must be increased simultaneously: to increase one but not the other makes sense only if one assumes that young people are irrational."

The rise of crime rates since the early '60s has paralleled the rise in teenage, and particularly black teen-age unemployment. At least 40% of black teenagers who are now looking for work are unable to find it. Tom Wicker, the New York Times columnist and author of A Time to Die, a noted book about the Attica uprising, suggests that the rise in crime may be due to the "development of something like a permanent underclass, not so much exploited as left behind-an economic substratum unable to rise by unskilled labor that is no longer in demand, unable to compete in a highly organized technological society, heavily damaged by being in the cities, predominantly black in a





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white environment, and embittered by evidence all around of its hopeless disadvantage.

If an individual has a "stake" in society, sociologists emphasize, he is less likely to become criminal than someone with no job and no future. This is true regardless of race. Crime rates in tawdry sections of Chicago have remained high over the decades, though inhabited at different times by Swedes. Poles, Germans, Italians, Syrians and blacks. Says Sociologist Lloyd Ohlin: "Slums of the big cities have always been the main source of recruitment to street crime, no matter who lived there." Says Norval Morris: "It is trite but it remains true that the main causes of crime are social and economic. The question arises whether people really care. The solutions are so obvious. It's almost as if America wished for a high crime rate.

DEMOGRAPHY: TOO MANY YOUTHS

America's post-World War II baby boom has swollen the traditional crimeprone age bracket (14 to 24) as never before-and possibly never again. In 1950 there were 24 million young Americans in this age group. A decade later it was 27 million and now it is 44 million: the bulge will not disappear until the 1980s.

Enormous as the increase in the youthful population has been, however. it is not big enough to explain the even greater rise in youthful criminality. James O. Wilson suggests that the growth in the number of youths has increased the rate of youth crime: a

"critical mass" of youngsters has been produced, and with it separate norms and peer pressure that make adult controls difficult. As Princeton Demographer Norman Ryder sees it, there is "a perennial invasion of barbarians who must somehow be civilized and made to contribute to society. In 1960 the "defending army of those between 25 and 64 was three times the size of the "invading army" of youths aged 14 to 24. Now the defenders are only twice the number of the invaders and seem to be losing control of the battle to assimilate and socialize the young.

PSYCHOLOGY: DANGER AT HOME

Many psychologists and psychiatrists point an accusing finger at faulty parent-child relationships, particularly early in a child's life. Studies show that overly lax, overly strict or erratic child rearing contributes to delinquency, while a generally "firm but kind" approach inhibits it

University of Southern California Psychiatrist Edward Stainbrook attributes some of today's violence to the difference between this generation of black youths and their fathers. "The last black generation felt tremendously hostile too," he said "but then there were parental restraints. Now biding your time is no longer enough.

Angry defiance is acceptable.

Children are more likely to turn to crime if parents battle frequently, or if one parent is missing through death, divorce or abandonment. The stresses on blacks seem particularly severe. A decade ago, when Daniel Patrick Movnihan, then Assistant Secretary of Labor, published his report on the black family in America, 24% of these families were headed by a woman, with no father present. Now the figure is 35%. Says James Q. Wilson: "The forces that continue to operate on the black family, particularly in the inner city, continue to create situations in which young people are hopelessly disadvantaged.

Other studies make it clear that much of today's violence is learned in the home, and that child abuse is on the rise. The Fortune Society, a group of ex-convicts, reports that more than half its membership had been severely abused as children. A New York study of nine juvenile murderers, including a girl who had chopped a victim to pieces with a machete knife, showed that all nine had been routinely beaten by their parents. Other youths who commit and later talk about the most heinous crimes with peculiar indifference "don't seem to realize they are putting a knife into another human being," says Willard Gaylin, professor of psychiatry and law

MARIEM YOUTHS LOUNGE ON STEPS OF DESERTED BUILDING

at Columbia University. Gaylin believes this insensibility stems from a lack of identity with anyone else or with the community. "These kids have been so brutalized that there is no guilt for one to work with," said one New York juvenile investigator.

The mayhem on TV probably has something to do with teen-age violence as well. One study claims that the average American youth can be expected to watch 11,000 TV murders by the time he is 14. In Boston, a woman was doused with gasoline and set afire shortly after a TV movie featured a similar scene. In Chicago, several murders have followed in vivid detail some inventive killings in the TV detective series Shaft

MORALS: THE ULTIMATE PROBLEM

"Adults are confused and at a loss." says Psychiatrist Bernard Yudowitz They don't know what standards to set for their children or themselves. The bells that used to ring in your head to say no aren't ringing any more.

Urbanologist Edward Banfield and others see a slippery morality emerging from the 1960s: the idea that disadvantaged groups "have a kind of quasi right to have their offenses against the law extenuated, or even to have them regarded as political acts reflecting a morality 'higher' than obedience to the law." Says Gerald Caplan, director of the research branch of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration: "Is the black fellow who steals a car a victim of society

or its enemy? Is Spiro Agnew a political victim or a predator on society? People have varying answers

It seems that every group has caught the knack of rationalizing away violations of the law, from Watergate conspirators to antiwar bombers and young black criminals who define assaults as "political acts "Says Frederick Hacker, a University of Southern

California professor of psychiatry and law: "There have been an increasing criminalization of politics and a politicalization of criminals. It's reached the point where there are no criminals in San Quentin any more. They're all freedom fighters.

It seems clear that some of the old values and restraints have been battered by recent upheavals -war, riots, assassinations, racial strife, situational ethics, the youth rebellion. As disillusionment sets in, fewer and fewer Americans look to the churches, schools or Washington for moral leadership Stern observers of today's widespread ethical torpor tend to agree with the 19th century French criminologist Jean Lacassagne "A society gets the criminals it



Patton, is whether "we dispense justice or dispense justice or dispense putice or dispense with it" Unfortu-

which liberals and conservatives split more sharply than the causes and cures of crime. Liberals emphasize the unjust social conditions that are its breeding ground: slums, unemployment, poor education, racism, poverty amid affluence Says former Attorney General Ramsey Clark: "We've got to deal massively and constructively with these problems before we can hope to curb crime.

Conservatives are more apt to believe that deliberation, not desperation, is the root of crime. Says another former Attorney General, William Saxbe, a foe of permissiveness and leniency in the courts: "I believe a great many offenders commit crimes because they want to commit them." The disagreement is classic and deep. To conserva-

mologist Marvin Wolfgang, "We liberals are finally willing to talk about punishment.

The familiar fact is that the vastly troubled criminal-justice system often exacts no price at all for crime. An adult burglar has only one chance in 412 of going to jail for any single job, according to Gregory Krohm of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute's Center for the Study of Public Choice. For juveniles under 17, the figure is one in 659 burglaries, with a likelihood of only a ninemonth term if the 659-to-1 shot comes in. Many critics are convinced that such odds were created in large part by those constitutional-law rulings of the Warren Court that expanded the rights of criminal defendants. Mapp. Escobedo, Miranda and Wade are still names that

nately, there is no single reform that will straighten out the states' tangled and varied procedures. But there are a number of steps that can be taken. Following is a consensus of pragmatic current thinking about the laws the police, the courts and the prisons

Patton, is whether "we

LAWS: FEWER AND BETTER

"We can have as much or as little crime as we please, depending on what we choose to count as criminal," wrote the late Herbert Packer in his modern classic. The Limits of the Criminal Sancfenses are now included in most state nenal codes-offenses like adultery, sodomy, homosexuality, prostitution and pornography

Nonviolent sexual crimes are not the only targets of reformers. Other socalled victimless offenses that should be decriminalized include marijuana use. gambling and public drunkenness. Although such offenses are usually less time-consuming for cops and courts to process than other crimes, Criminologist Hans Mattick of the University of IIlinois has calculated that victimless crime accounts for at least 40% of all arrests

Looking to tougher laws for relief is also a matter of misplaced emphasis The lengthy and emotional debate about capital punishment, for example, has profound moral implications, but the death penalty alone cannot make major inroads on serious crime. More important than any harsh penalty, criminologists agree, is increasing the likelihood of an offender's getting caught and convicted. American criminal penalties, in fact, are already among the harshest in the world. The problem comes in enforcing them. Says Gerald

Caplan, research director of the L.E.A.A ment in this country is underenforcement." Everyone in the system has broad discretion-cops on whether to arrest, district attorneys on whether and how hard to prosecute, judges on the length of the sentence, and penal or parole authorities on when to award freedom. "Nothing is absolute." says American University Criminologist Nicholas Kittrie. "Everybody plays games." Little improvement is likely, say Kittrie and others, "until broad, wide-ranging criminal penalties and statutes are drawn more narrowly and more humanely." Since state legislators do not have enough time or expertise to name specific penalties for each crime, each legislature should establish a commission to set and adjust rules for the entire criminal-justice system.

The most important step that lawmakers could take, however, would be in the area of gun control. Convinced be-



"Everybody I know gets rehabilitated the moment he gets cought."

tives, man has always been flawed by original sin-or simply human weakness-but is in control of his own fate. To help him control it, the good society is obliged to emphasize a strong moral order, a respect for law and a confidence in punishment as a deterrent

The right-left split so permeates leal thinking that Walter B. Miller of Harvard Law School's Center for Criminal Justice maintains that "ideology is the permanent, hidden agenda of criminal justice." But ideological differences have recently started to blur under the impact of America's apparently permanent crime wave, and there is a renewed interest on all sides in making sure that violent criminals get locked up. As Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo likes to put it: "A conservative is a liberal who was mugged the night before." Says Crimenrage law-and-order advocates. But despite all the years of talk and four Nixon appointments, the court has so far been willing only to trim some of the rules, not reverse them. The new rulings obviously add to the work of the courts. and some experts believe that they have hampered the criminal-justice system's capacity to convict guilty offenders. though as yet there have been no studies demonstrating any such significant

For the problems in meting out justice, cops lay the blame on the higher courts, the courts on the cops, while trial judges tend to tag the prisons. All are in a way correct. The whole system -from criminal code to prison release -must be reformed from a single perspective: to speed, regularize and rationalize the process of law enforcement. The choice, says Ohio Judge John yond any doubt that guns are an irreplaceable ingredient in most planned and unplanned mayhem, many crimipologists and police chiefs would like a total ban on all guns for everyone-except police, the military and, with some limitations, sport hunters and shooters Such a federal law has not the remotest chance of passage, however, Indeed, the prospects for major new controls this year are so dim that the ever-alert National Rifle Association has yet to unlumber its prodigious anti-control lobbying program President Ford's disappointing stand last week scarcely changed the situation. Despite signs of growing grass-roots support for tougher gun laws. Americans will apparently have to settle for the President's proposed ban on "Saturday night specials." an idea even the N R.A. endorses

POLICE:

STRATEGIC INNOVATIONS

Fear of robbers always seems to build up hopes about cops. Since 1967 \$3 billion has been spent in the "war on crime" by the L.E.A.A., and more than half of that bounty has been distributed to the nation's police forces. Along with a great deal of elaborate equipment (a helicopter for Atlanta and an armored tank for Birmingham), the money has provided needed modernization for dozens of departments. A number of important things about police techniques have also been learned from L.E.A.A. and other research. Unfortunately most of the findings have tended to show what does not work. Squad-car cruising, for example, was long thought critical to crime control; then a 1974 study in Kansas City. Mo, showed little crime variation no matter how few or many cruisers were patrolling test areas Looking at the vast array of police experimentation, the L.E.A.A.'s Caplan says. "There have been no breakthroughs, and none are on the horizon."



OVERCROWDED CELL IN MANHATTAN HOUSE OF DETENTION FOR MEN (1973)

American criminal penalties are among the world's harshest.

The most fruiful experiments have been concerned with getting more citizen participation and cooperation. Cinicati is one of many citizes to try increasing the connection between a neighborhood and police by giving a learn of officers complete responsibility for a single area. Initially crime in those several fluores areas went down 10%; though the most recent fluores are less encouragine.

Realizing that many people, especially ghetto blacks, are afraid of violent overreaction by law-enforcement officials. Kansas City Police Chief Joseph McNamura has imposed a tough some. K. C. copp last year fired their guns at people 80% fewer times than in 1973 and at the same time were able to make a dramatic increase in the number of arrests. The figures did not reflect merely a thie in crime. Says Mrthose in our minority community, now feel more comfortable with the police Other strategic innovations can also help. Determined to do something about Detroit's murders, police there formed

Detroit's murders, police there formed uso special units, one to concentrate on drug-ring murders and one on murders on the control of the co

dercover operations

Still, an important question about reliance on police remains. The failure of the L.E.A.A. police transfusion to lower the crime rate suggests that more money for the nation's 500,000 men in blue will not help much. Says Assistant Chief Herb Hartz of Tulsa, Okla .: "If the police could somehow become 20% more efficient, can you imagine what would happen? The courts are not equipped to handle that kind of load, and the prisons aren't equipped to handle it either. Indeed they are not. At this point, the President's new L.L.A.A. funds for improvement and innovation in criminal justice could be more usefully spent on the courts or prisons than on the police

COURTS: EFFICIENCY NEEDED

Many communities simply need more judges. President Ford has now joined those who back a law to create 51 new federal judgeships. While case loads have doubled in the past ten years, the number of judges has gone up by only 25%. Adding judges, of course,



means adding the prosecutors, public defenders. clerks and courtrooms that are needed for each judge's work. More prosecutors could also help the courts of the court of the courts of the courts fenders, who account for a dispropertionate amount of crime. The President took special note in his message of a new Broax program that in its first year cut the time for dealing with repeters from 24 to three months and Judges then imprisoned 95% of those prosecuted

Even though new judges are need-



NEW YORK COPLISTENING TO DISPUTE Should police do 20% better?

ed. however, it must be admitted that not all of them are relentlessly diligent workers. A study in Chicago found that a Cook County jurist's day involved about 21/4 hours on the bench, plus 11/4 hours in his chambers. Politics also undermines judicial performance. Party sachems designate the men who will be elevated to the bench in such cities as Chicago and New York. The result is too many judges who are little more than party hacks. The best solution has already been adopted in slightly varying forms by 17 states: appointment of judges by the governor from a list of choices offered by a judicial nomination

Some of the other needed court reforms are technical but nonetheless vital. In many cities, different judges handle the various steps leading up to the trial. The trend is now to have one judge handle a case from start to finish Another useful unification would be a single omnibus hearing to coordinate virtually all pretrial maneuvers—from checking on a lineup's legality to a claim that a confession was illegally obtained. The resulting efficiency would both speed and strengthen justice. Texas Fed-ral Judge Adrian Spears has been trying the idea since 1967, and though his courtroom has a high caseload, its performance rating is ranked near the top by the Administrative Office of the U.S.

The bail system needs attention too Civil libertarians often oppose bail as a condition of pretrial freedom because it condemns the poor to long waits in jail Others want to stop granting bail to the potentially dangerous because, once free, they may commit another crime An experiment that dispenses with bail almost entirely has worked exceptionally well in Des Moines for five years The director of the program, Bernard Vogelgesang, explains: "We work on a purely objective point system. You lose points for prior convictions, you gain points for length of residence and length of employment." Those who rate well (about 1,935 last year) are let go until trial without bail. Accused offenders who rate as high risks are specially screened by psychologists for potential danger to the community. Those who fail are not released under the experimental program. Those who pass are released, though under relatively careful supervision. Both freed groups return for trial more often than those out on bail used to return. The county-jail population has been cut by a third, as a result of which the program costs less than did

the old system. Oregon has demonstrated that a whole court system can be made to work Using many of the new generally prescribed reforms and a few of its own. the state began a major overhaul in 1971 Since then delay for criminal cases in Portland has dropped from four months to 11/2, making its system the swiftest of any in a U.S. metropolitan area. The judges could go faster, but the city's prosecutors and defenders cannot quite keep up. Statewide, the time from trial to a final disposition of the appeal is now six months, compared with, for examnle more than 15 months in Virginia And Oregon's crime rate has remained steady during the climb elsewhere in

PLEA BARGAINS: IMPROVE APPEARANCES

Plea bargaining is the one fixture of the criminal justice system that is noispuably efficient. It has, however, left observers cyrical about its effects. Typically the state permits a defendant to lead guilty to a reduced charge in return for a sure, final and time-saving conviction. That leads to complaints that the deals often let offenders get away, literally, with murder. Civil libertarians, on the other hand, protest that bargains enable the state to get convictions in shaky cases. With serious criminals apparently getting off too lightly and the innocent sometimes getting shafted, plea bargaining has a deserved-ly disastrous public image and clearly violates the precept of Felix Frankfurter that "justice must satisfy the appearance of justice."

At most observers believe the process cannot be eliminated or even cut back significantly. Nationwide, 90% of scrious crimes are now cleared by plea bargains. If the rate were cut even to 80%, the trail load would double, a devassating numdation. Says Chicago Judge you have to rely on things which are aniagonistic to the system just so the system won'f fall apart."

One proposal that might purify the air around plea bargaining is to allow the victim and the offender to attend a session in which the two opposing lawyers negotiate the offender's plea. The purpose would be to restore at least partly the sense that a fair result had been reached

THE SENTENCE: CERTAINTY IS THE KEY

As criminals know best, plea bargaining is essentially a way of establishing the length of the sentence. Even when sentencing is handled by a judge who is not bound by a deal, however, it is a wholly irrainoal process that sometimes results in cellmates serving wildly different terms for the same offense. Sentencing is too offen: a projection of the hash will and Gaylin. The resulting excessive dispartites, he believes, corrode with basic structural prop of equity that supports our sense of justice: "Virtually every expert in the field now believes



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that the structure and rationale of sentences need extensive overhauling. Certainty is the key word

Not long ago, the idea of indeterminate sentencing seemed promising. In principle, that meant an offender was held in prison until authorities believed he was rehabilitated and ready for release. Punishment was supposedly gu to fit the criminal, not the crim quite apart from the diffic achieving any rehabilitation tion involved gave authorit power to manipulate co It was "one of the mo of torture," conclude virtually uniform bit minated" prisoners h experts that a con now necessary

President For so-called "flat-til linois Law Enfo cently recoma scheme te many usu factions victed of

ds or pportun shock trea sed success Kentucky: prisoners get without the exposure to

onvicted of feluld be at least a us offender who has earlier crimes of any get a set sentence of at least "Inmates as a group underpunishment is what they've got says Raymond Procunier, former chief of California's department of corrections. "They want someone to tell them exactly how long they have to do.

PRISONERS: REYOND REHABILITATION

"I have not heard respectable defense of James O

one the n to

Norval Mor alled The Futu versity of Chicago eves that if "the hytation as a purpose e set aside, the prisbetter off, "Probrisoners, like the alls, are content

scept themselves as they are. Yet oes not mean that treatment proeed to be abandoned," says Morns do contain a "disproportionher of the undereducated ally handicapped and psychodisturbed," and for them vards of therapy or training should able. Said the President last While the problem of criminal nation is difficult, we must not p on our efforts to achieve it." Insuch programs need to be expand-But they must be freely chosen

One institution that is rigorously trythe free-choice approach is the soled Just Community in Niantic. nn. Parole is granted only after a preermined sentence is served, and there o connection between getting out and ticipating in the educational and othspecial rehabilitative programs that are offered. The main effort is to get the prisoners-both men and women -to participate in par the prison and to learn to be ble for their own actions re left up to the major and prisoners each. "They're the decide what to do tchen when the garsays Director Jo-They are learning that infront a problem, that nd that you have to deal ley claims: "I don't do this mates. I do it to reform the

Just Community is ates). Experts are that large "forunmitigated conal justice. The only ntin, reported one who had been sent prison's violence and is "200 lbs. of TNT. living He got no argument from superiors. Already, the populations of such oldtime big houses" are being cut down. In Minnesota there are tentative plans to close the 775-man state prison at Stillwater

STUDY OF 100 CRIMES

Persons arrested Persons charged Referred to juvenile court Acquitted Fined Found guilty of a lesser offense Placed on probation Imprisoned



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TIME-LIFE VIDEO: "THE DEFINITIVE COMMUNICATORS

One problem, however, is to get communities to accept the new, smaller

Nevertheless, criminals should be detained close to home, criminologists and convicts alike agree (see box). Small prisons in the community would help in part by making brief home furloughs, study and work-release programs and halfway houses more feasible. But, says

Northwestern Law Professor John P Heinz, "we shouldn't do community treatment because we know it's better We don't. But we know it's not worse, and it's cheaper and more humane and probably doesn't create as much resent-

Even a reformed system, say cautious critics, should not be expected to do much more than punish and isolate offenders from society. "Whether or not prisoners will change is not the issue." says Joe Hickey. "To the extent that people see the criminal-justice system as fair, to that extent will they have more respect for the law. We would be ahead if we could even make sure they don't come out worse than they went in No-

body's done that."
Nobody has done much, either,

VIEWS FROM BEHIND BARS

Harold MacEven, 34, was paroled from Sateville prion in Illinois after serving 12% years for killinois after serving 12% years for killing an off-duty oper during an armed robbery. "The crime itself was inexcusable." says MacEven, who is studying for his M.A. in poychology and works for the Illinois Department of Corrections." But I was 20, and what I was also holds true for most young whites and blacks in ghetto slum areas. We would classify each other, and then we would have to live up to the classification. Hought I was hip. each of the property of the classification. Hought I was hip. the property of the classification. Hought I was hip. the property of the classification. Hought I was hip. the property of the property o

After serving eleven years. Macbewn was given a three-day furlough, "I visited some places I thought I was familiar with, but they had changed so much that when I got out of my car, I was frightened. I couldn't stay. Then in my mother's house, I was having what I thought was a normal conversation, and it seemed like the room got smaller and smaller and I was suffocating."

and smaller and I was suitocating.

MacEwen believes that prisons should be close to home. That would give the prisoner a chance "to formulate in his own mind vivid pictures and concepts of how he will fit in when he gets out." Moreover, as long as penal institutions are in remote rural areas, they are apt to be ignored. "Out of sight, out

EX-CON & CORRECTIONS OFFICIAL ModEWEN



of mind. The community should have to deal with the problem that brought about the arrest, sentence and conviction in the first place. I believe the more involved the community becomes, the visit or teach in the prisons are so important for motivation and hope. A great many men and women who are incarcerated need motivation."

cerated need motivation. MacEven also believes immates must be taught to take responsibility." A man comes home to four kids and a wife, and he's expected to be a provider. He's not been prepared during incarceration to shoulder responsibility. I don't condemn a man who's been out six months and then commits another crime. By returning to prison, he doesn't have to worry about bills being paid or whether his kids are desently clothed."

A convicted rapist in Texas' Huntsville penitentiary, David Stonestreet, 45. agrees that prison can become a habit "A lot of inmates in this system have grown up through it since the time they were juveniles. These are their friends -the only people they know. Back on the streets they are nobody, so they commit a crime and come back here because this is their home. I can come in here and live and not be hassled. All I've got to do is my job and that's it. I don't have to buy food-nothing. There are inmates in here that are better off than you are because they don't have to worry about anything.

Gary Carter has spent a good share of Gary Carter has spent a good share of the Washington State Reformatory in Monroe. At age seven he was put by his family in an orphanage, where he stayed till he was twelve. At 18, he was convicted of armed robbery and drew five years to life.

"I think when someone is first hust-

ed." he says today. "you should just give him enough time so he knows what he has done and he has an idea of what's ahead. When I was sitting there in that cell at age 18, 1 was realizing what I had done, and knew! Vass wrong. After three months I was scared. That was when I should have been put on some kind of program outside. If they would have given me a chance then, I could



TEXAS PRISONER STONESTREET

have made it. But when you do all that time, you're not a human being. You're an animal."

Robert Brown believes juvenile halls and training schools only make adult criminals. "There's nobody to love the kids and no one to provide any sort of normal life." Brown should know. His earliest recollection is of being found half-starved in a room at the age of two orphanages and a reformatory before he turned 18.

At age 19, he was sentenced to state prison at Auburn, N.Y., for killing a desk clerk during an armed robbery of a Manhattan hotel. "I didn't get any help in prison for 20 years, until I met Dan Welty," says Brown, Welty, a prison chaplain who also does psychotherapy. managed to get Brown released after he had served 23% years. Brown, 47, is now married, has gone through extensive psychotherapy and is a paid official of the Fortune Society, an organization of ex-offenders. Although he was able to profit from meeting Welty, Brown knows that such encounters are rare "Treatment is of no use to most people in today's prisons. The answer is almost to leave the prisons alone-almost benign neglect," he says, "Then divert massive resources to this society's disadvantaged children, the ones who are going to commit tomorrow's crime."

CRIME.

about prisoners once they get out Many must turn immediately to welfare and often go hungry during the few days before payments start. Employment is extra hard to come by, since many laws har ex-cons outright from an unnecessarily long list of jobs. The President in his message addressed the politically profitless problem by directing the U.S. Civil Service Commission to ensure that federal employers are not "unjustly discriminating against ex-felons.

JUVENILE JUSTICE: WORSE THAN ADULTS'

The juvenile-justice system in the U.S. is a miniature of the whole criminal-justice structure, but its problems are, if anything, even larger. Nationally there are 2,975 juvenile courts and 3,202 judges hearing approximately a million cases a year, as well as, in some areas,



Short shock treatments for some.

ruling on family problems like alimony and child support. In most states, these courts have jurisdiction in cases involving youths 18 and under. The current trend is to try to lower the age limit-in California from 18 to 16, in Illinois from 17 to 14, in New York from 16 to 14 so that serious offenders can be tried like adults and be given adult penalties

Even when they are tried as juveniles, however, young defendants enjoy many of the rights of an adult. The Supreme Court's 1967 in re Gault decision held that children, too, must be told of the charges against them, given a chance to confront their accusers and allowed to consult with an attorney. Not every protection is granted, however which has left juvenile courts like neither the adult model nor the more informal, paternal tribunals that were

once supposed to be the system's ideal The shift toward giving juveniles

more rights is badly compromised by the enormous glut of problems the juvenile courts handle. One widely approved reform would be to remove their jurisdiction over "status offenders"-youths who have committed no crimes (or at least have not been caught) but are troublesome to their parents, their neighbors or the schools. Currently status offenders account for about 40% of the case load of juvenile courts, making the courts the dumping ground for problems that parents and their communities should be solving. "Runaways and truant cases in court go through the same procedure as rapes and murders," complains Los Angeles County District Attorney Joseph Busch. "That's nonsense It clutters up the courts." It also fills up the youth prisons-known variously as invenile halls or training schools, since about half the 100,000 young people incarcerated this year will be status offenders. So bizarre are the workings of the system that they may have to serve more time than youths convicted of crimes including rape and murder

Perhaps the main source of confusion and despair in the juvenile-justice system is the training school itself. Most judges view it as a breeding ground for physical abuse, sodomy and the criminal arts. The judges' dilemma: whether place or send him home on probation to the same conflicts, pressures and opportunities for crime that brought him to court in the first place Says Chicago Judge William S. White: "Often, doing nothing is better than doing something wrong

The recidivism rate of offenders who are sent to training schools (at a cost of up to \$20,000 a year to the state) is a staggering 80%. The result is a revolving door. As more and more judges turn against sentences to training schools, young criminals get off lightly and reappear in court again and again. They now see the system as a joke and know they run little risk of punishment

The trend is to do away with penal institutions while searching for more alternatives like group or foster homes Though some critics remain unconvinced of the wisdom of the plan, Illinois has closed eight of its juvenile institutions since 1971 and has 12 left Massachusetts has dismantled all but one of them. It now has 138 "hard-core incorrigibles" under maximum security. 53 offenders in nonresidential programs. 120 in residential programs (mostly group homes), and 200 in foster homes The state has had some problems, including passive resistance and occasional sabotage from officials who resent the change. But with the accent on therapy, flexibility and small, humane settings. Massachusetts very tentatively reports a slight lowering of the recidivism rate. Expectations in the juvenile-justice field are currently so low that many believe the experiment should be called a success if its recidivism rate merely remains the same, simply because the community programs are cheaper and more humane.

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 was supposed to supply funds for experiments in "diversion," the term for channeling young offenders away from training schools and into local programs. The \$1.5 biltion hill was whittled down to \$350 million, after resistance from the Nixon Administration, and finally passed under President Ford. But only \$25 million has been appropriated for this year, and the President has failed to appoint a permanent administrator or any staff, leaving the new program basically headless. fundless and, thus far, pointless

. . .

As TIME reported in the foregoing pages, a number of things can be done in the criminal-justice system that will surely cut crime, but there are real and imagined difficulties that seem to stand in the way. The cost of changing the system, for example, would be considerable. However, experts believe that once reformed, the courts and prisons would cost about what they do now. There are emotional obstructions too. Deeply held moral taboos argue against decriminalizing many offenses. Strong instincts tell people that owning guns, pumping money into police forces and passing harsh laws will fight crime, when in fact they often undermine its control

Finally, among those who make the choices of what to do, a kind of frenzied rushing from idea to idea has taken place. "One year it's one fad, the next year another," complains Harvard Law Professor James Vorenberg. The change that is needed will not come overnight. nor will the immediate results be dramatic A deliberate long-term effort of perhaps ten years is necessary to complete the job

With such a commitment, the crime rate might well drop even sooner than 1985. James Q. Wilson estimates that a rational mandatory-sentencing structure alone would quickly cut crime by 20%. Beyond the promise of that gain, there are other reasons that suggest there is now a real chance to halt the growth of crime. The President has offered a sensible though limited agenda The rapid increase in suburban and rural violence, unfortunate as it is, has spread the constituency of the victimized from the inner cities to most of the nation. Moreover, a country weary of failed panaceas and overreaching rhetoric may be as ready as the experts to settle on the step-by-step changes that draw on both liberal and conservative perceptions. These changes promise not to cure but to help. They constitute a pragmatic program that Americans should support, not merely because of their despair over the present situation but because making justice faster and firmer will also

make it fairer

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THE MAFIA

The Demise of a Don

There are no truly secure pensioners in the Mafia, but the retired Chicago don Sam Giancana, 66, was probably as much at ease one night last week as a man with his past could be. Just back from Houston and a gall-bladder operation, he had enjoyed a festive homecoming dinner in his fortress-like brick



GIANCANA AFTER BEING ARRESTED IN 1957 The disposition of a viper.

house in the Chicago suburb of Oak Park. His guests were the handful of people he could trust; one of his daughters and her husband; Charles ("Chuckie") English, his partner in myriad syndicate enterprises over the years; and his loyal courier-chauffeur, Dominick ("Butch") Blazi. No matter that lawmen had shadowed Giancana's every move since he landed at O'Hare Airport and were keeping watch on the house. He was used to that

The party apparently over, the surveillance was lifted; all seemed quiet in the house. But before midnight Giancana went down to his basement hideaway with its small kitchen to fry up a snack of Italian sausages and spinach It was a snack that would go uneaten Perhaps one of his guests remained behind, or perhaps he was joined by a new visitor-whoever was there was almost certainly someone he knew well. Giancana was shot seven times at close range in the face and neck.

Thus died a man with the face of a gargovle and the disposition of a viper. a cruelly violent Mafia chieftain who ruthlessly ruled the Chicago underworld for nearly ten years. Giancana had retired from active Mob affairs several years ago. But he recently recovered his notoriety because of the revelation that he had been recruited for the Central Intelligence Agency in 1960 to assassinate Cuban Dictator Fidel Castro (see following story). Indeed, the Senate committee investigating the CIA was considering calling Giancana to testify, and had already subpoenaed his lieutenant in the plot. John Roselli, to appear this week. Giancana, moreover, had recently been questioned by a federal grand jury in Chicago about Mob activities.

Kiss of Death. The killer or killers acted with methodical precision, leaving the police with few clues beyond seven 22-cal. shell casings. A lightweight .22 is not the sort of artillery that the Mafia usually employs, leading to speculation that an embittered girl friend, of whom he had many, might have done him in. Or it might have been someone with whom he had been involved in the Castro caper who feared exposure. As for any possible CIA complicity. Director William Colby said: "We had nothing to do with it."

The circumstances seemed to suggest a classic Mafia rub-out: the cheery last supper followed by the kiss of death from a trusted friend who had been persuaded to betray Giancana at the Mob's bidding. Though Giancana had so far told the grand jury nothing of value, the Mafia might have been worried that eventually he would. And though he was still a member of the Mafia's nationwide high "Commission," the Chicago local had some months before excluded him from all its activities, believing that the investigations he had inspired had crimped Mob business in Chicago. The gang-slaving theory was lent credence by a shadowy report that on hearing of the shooting, the Mafia's Boss of Bosses, New York's Carlo Gambino, promptly passed word that Giancana's killer was to be executed-again a frequent Mafia precaution after a major "hit.

Giancana understood such methods. he had employed them himself in the days when, known to his friends as "Mooney" or "Momo," he ran the Chicago underworld. His rise in the crime organization built by Al Capone began in his teens on Chicago's West Side. where he was born in 1908, the son of an immigrant grocer. A grade-school dropout, he joined the Chicago Mob as a wheelman, or getaway driver, then graduated to triggerman. Convicted of moonshining in 1939, he managed to turn his four-year sentence to his advantage by cultivating the friendship of Edward Jones, the policy king of Chicago's South Side, who was serving time for income tax evasion. From Jones. Giançana learned that the city's blackrun numbers racket was a \$2 million-ayear bonanza, not the penny-ante game that the Mob had always thought. Soon after Giancana was released, he and other Young Turks in the Mafia won control of the numbers through a series of vicious kidnapings, beatings and murders of black racketeers

Long Romance. During World War II. Giancana stayed out of the service by being honest. What do you do for a living? his draft board asked. "I steal. Giancana replied. The board promptly rejected him for Army duty, describing him as "a constitutional psychopath [with] an inadequate personality and strong anti-social trends.

Giancana became boss of the Chicago Mafia family in 1955, and ruled a three-state empire of some 1,500 Mafiosi who ran gambling, narcotics, prostitution, loan sharking and other underworld ventures. At the height of his power, Giancana lived relatively modestly in Oak Park with his three daughters-his wife died in 1954-but vacationed on a lavish scale: Miami Beach and Europe in the winter, Paradise Valley near Las Vegas in the summer. While visiting Las Vegas' Desert Inn in 1960. the don noticed Singer Phyllis McGuire standing at a blackiack table, seemingly bewildered by the game. He gallantly offered some expert advice and began a long romance with the singer

Giancana's decline began in 1959. when FBI agents planted a microphone somewhere amid the cans of tomato paste and olive oil in the back room of Giancana's Mob headquarters, the Armory Lounge in suburban Forest Park For six years, agents listened to his most intimate business conversations, learning valuable information about the Mafia's organization and operations. In 1965 Giancana was jailed for refusing to answer the questions of a grand jury about Chicago's rackets. Released a year later, he fled to Mexico to escape further questioning and holed up in a walled estate near Cuernavaca

The don's grip weakened. By the time the Mexican government expelled him without explanation last July, he had little power left. When he was not playing golf, he spent most of his time at home where, in the end, his past apparently caught up with him.

How many times have you decided to give up smoking?

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The Assassination Plot That Failed

Of all the charges of wrongdoing by the Central Intelligence Agency, the most disturbing are those that implicate the agency in plots to assassinate foreign rulers who were deemed inimical to U.S. interests. Among the putative targets were Congolese Nationalist Leader Patrice Lumumba and Dominican Republic Dictator Rafael Trujillo, who were assassinated in 1961: South Viet Nam President Ngo Dinh Diem, who was murdered in 1963: and Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. The allegations are being investigated by a Senate committee, which last week continued to question past and present CLA officers about the alleged plots. At TIME's request, Charles J.V. Murphy, a

former editor and Washington correspondent of FORTUNE, talked with his long-time sources in the U.S. intelligence field about the charges and sent this report:

The suspicion is that two Presidents-Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy -authorized or condoned foul plots by the CIA to do in several foreign leaders. Democratic Senator Frank Church of Idaho who heads the Senate investigating committee, has claimed to have "hard evidence" of the agency's complicity but nothing that would implicate any President. Still, in the singular relationship of the agency to presidential authority, evidence of a CIA assassination plot would seem to implicate one President or the other, even both, unless, of course, the CIA had become a law unto itself. What the Rockefeller commission report revealed was "in all likelihood just the tip of the iceberg," according to Church. The real likelihood is that so far as the actual assassinations are concerned there was never much more to this floating body than a deceptively shimmering tip. Castro, however, was another matter. The agency version of the charges is this:

TRUJILO. Former senior
officers of the CA maintain that neither
the agency nor Presidents Eisenhower
or Kennedy had anything directly to do
with the dictator's death. Officialis in the
American embassy had tred to persuade Trujillo to resign to end the
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faction with three rifles. A group of seven or eight men ambushed Trujillo on the road from his house to the presidential palace. Whether any of the U.S.supplied rifles were used in the killing has never been determined to the senior CIA men's satisfaction.

LUMUMBA. The Soviet Union supported him with money and arms in the contest to take the former Belgian Congo out of the West's orbit. While the CTA supported President Moise Tshombe of Katanga against Lumumba, it had no part in Lumumba's arrest and murder by Katanganese soldiers. He was a casualty of African tribal politics.

DIEM. The coup against Diem was



ARTIST'S DEPICTION OF CUBA'S FIDEL CASTRO AS TARGET Perhaps the man in Havana got cold feet.

planned with the knowledge of Dean Rusk and Averell Harriman at the State Department, Robert S. McNamara and Rowell Glippatric at the Defense Department and the late Edward R. Murrow at the U.S. Information Agency. The U.S. hoped Diem's overthrow would hat the domestic turmoil that had weak-ened South Viet Nam. But the CLA's diector, John A. McCone, vigorously opposed the overthrow of Diem on the reasoning that none of the generals en-

listed in the coup would be half as effective a leader as the man they wanted to bring down. After the coup, Diem was murdered. Former senior CIA officials insist that the slaying was the private work of the Vietnamese generals' junior officers and was done without the U.S. Government's foreknowledge.

CASTRO. Though Castro is still alive, it is not because the C1A did not consider various ways of doing him in. The design on the "maximum leader's" life burgeoned over a span of some two years principals remember. the idea first emerged in the late spring or early sumer of 1960 as a simple, even simple-minded plot to poison Castro's food or still him a potsomed cigan. By some action of the control of the con

ested Colonel Sheffield Edwards, director of the agency's Office of Security. Edwards passed the idea on to Deputy Director for Plans Richard M. Bissell Ir.

He instructed Edwards to explore the feasibility of the project. For help, Edwards turned to a former FBI agent and later Howard Hughes associate, Robert A. Maheu. Maheu, then a private consultant and investigator, was believed to have a line to Mafia interests that had operated gambling casinos in Havana. Through the connection, Edwards sought to find out whether the Mafia could produce, if need be, a man in Havana in a position to liquidate

Through Chicago Mafia Chiestain Sam Giancana, who was murdered last week in his suburban Chicago home, and his lieutenant. John Roselli. the CIA recruited a gangster reputed to be in Castro's entourage of bullyboys. In late September Bissell and Edwards informed Director Allen Dulles of the results of their tentative explorations. Bissell maintains that his discussion with Dulles was in the most general terms; he was merely encouraged to test the ground further.

The medical section of the CIA produced some exotic pills and even "fixed" a box of fine Havana cigars. The cigars seem never to have left the laboratory, but the pills were turned over to the Mafin. The would-be assassin was to have been paid \$150,000 if he succeeded; some carrest money, "a few thousand dollars," was turned over to consecuting more important than money both were under investigation by the Dearment of Javaice and hoped to escape

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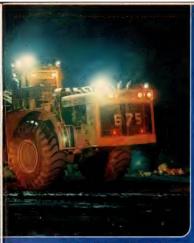


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KEY FIGURES IN THE CASTRO DOSSIER: HELMS, DULLES, BISSELL, McCONE & LANSDALE The design on the "maximum leader's" life burgeoned into a corpus of schemes

prosecution. In due course, the pills moved to Miami but no farther

No one seems to know why nothing happened. Perhaps the man in Havana got cold feet. Or he may have been eased out of his former close proximity to Castro. By some accounts, Giancana and Roselli found a replacement for the original assassin and turned the pills over to him. The substitute later claimed to have put two separate three-man teams of infiltrators ashore in Cuba. If he did. nothing more was ever heard of them

There is a further mystery as well It would scarcely have been in character for Dulles to proceed in such a delicate, potentially notorious enterprise without Eisenhower's sanction or at least the authorization of the National Security Council But there is no record of such authority

Problem of Amnesia. One of Bissell's senior lieutenants in the Cuba business later stated he was advised by Bissell on two different occasions that the plan had White House authority. Bissell claims to have no memory of making such a statement. But he has also said he would not dispute his colleague's memory. Vice President Nelson Rockefeller has described "a real problem of amnesia" that pervades the recollection of the principals still alive. Bissell swore an oath to keep secret whatever they were called upon to do in the national interest. In their view, amnesia may well be another word for integrity in these times of damaged vocabularies.

With the advent of the Kennedy Administration, the CIA plainly assumed that the new President would favor the enterprise against Castro. In February 1961 Bissell brought a new personality into the plan: a CIA officer named William K. Harvey. Long retired and living now in Indianapolis. Harvey was a pear-shaped fellow with a swinging stride. An intelligence officer of the direct-action school, he habitually carried

TIME, JUNE 30, 1975

Bissell charged Harvey with the responsibility for preparing the ground for what in the jargon of the intelligence trade is called an "executive action." That is the term for an action calculated to neutralize an adversary. The means may include defamation of character by propaganda or luring a leader out of his post of influence with the promise of a fine villa on the Côte d'Azur and a bottomless Swiss bank account The form, in theory, also includes assassination, though the CIA possessed no machinery for this kind of executive action. Harvey had no authority to act. only to explore, assess and advise

In the wake of the failure at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961 Dulles and Bissell both left the agency. They were succeeded by McCone as director and Richard M. Helms as deputy director for plans Helms, who had known nothing about the schemes against Castro until he succeeded Bissell, did not inform McCone about them until some months after Mc-Cone took charge. His reasoning: "Harvey was merely looking into various possibilities. If he came up with anything realistic, that would be the time to bother John with the decision.

By then, of course, the Mafia conection was dormant, but a blunder threatened to blow its cover a year later because of an unrelated bit of skulduggery in October 1960. As TIME has reported. Giancana became upset because his girl friend, Singer Phyllis McGuire. took up in Las Vegas with Comedian Dan Rowan. It was arranged to have Rowan's hotel room bugged. Through ill chance, the snooper was caught in the act of planting his gear. The investigation progressed slowly, but eventually the Las Vegas police insisted on putting the evidence before the FBI, and Maheu informed Colonel Edwards that Giancana and Roselli expected to be protected. By May 1962 the FBI got in touch with Edwards about the matter

Counsel Lawrence Houston warned Assistant Attorney General Herbert J Miller Jr. that the CIA's connection with the Mafia faced exposure if the snoopers were prosecuted. A day or so later. Houston and Edwards met with then Attorney General Robert Kennedy. He was upset but apparently not unduly alarmed. There would be no prosecution. His parting words were: "If you people want to get involved again with Mafia types, I want you to consult me first." It was Houston's impression that Kennedy had not known of the operation until that afternoon but had no objection to its going forward.

Special Meeting. In August 1962 the assassination project came under discussion at the highest levels of the Government, McCone called a special meeting of officials-among them Rusk. McNamara and Murrow-to discuss the growing Soviet activities in Cuba. Mc-Cone and another man present remember that McNamara raised the question of disposing of Castro. Murrow at once objected to any discussion on that point. McCone echoed the protest. Nevertheless, a memorandum circulated two days later by Air Force Major General Edward Lansdale, a counterinsurgency expert attached to McNamara's office, included a mention of a plan for "eliminating" or "liquidating" or otherwise doing Castro in-no one remembers the exact phrase

When the memo was hand-carried to McCone, he hit the roof. He telephoned the Pentagon and demanded that the memo be withdrawn at once That was done, but a copy, with the objectionable terms blanked out, somehow survives, and was the object of much speculation among the Rockefeller and Senate panels. Two months after the August meeting, the Soviet missiles were discovered in Cuba. In the turmoil, Harvey's executive action and the Mafia connection all disappeared into the void. never to be revived

The Communists: A Step Closer to Power

At the austere sandstone palazzo that houses Communist Party headquarters on Rome's Street of the Dark Shops, open telephone Lines crackled as a paparatchiks from Milan to Catania called in excitedly with the latest tallies. Over the party's closed-circuit television network, a bearded youth in shirtsleeves and a sleek blonde in a denim jacket broad-

cast the figures and forecast results. Even before the final totals rolled in from Italy's first regional elections in five years. Communist leaders were agape at what they were seeing. In contests for 15 of Italy's 20 regional governments, 86 of its 95 provinces and 6,347 of its 8,065 cities and towns, the Communists made stunning inroads They captured the Liguria region, embracing Genoa and the Italian Riviera. to go along with the three regions they already controlled in the Communist "Red Belt"-Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany and Umbria. They outpolled the long-entrenched Christian Democrats in the Marches on the Adriatic as well as in the Piedmont. They won the industrial powerhouses of Milan and Turin, as well as Naples and Venice

Compared with the 1972 national elections, the Communists increased their share of the vote by 5.1%, to 33.4%. The Christian Democrats, with every other party trying to wrench votes away from their centrist support, lost 309,843 votes. They were down 3.1%, to 95.3%, dangerously close to the 35% that rep-

Democratic Boss Amintore Fanfani. All together, the Communists trailed the Christian Democrats by fewer than 600.000 votes. Their total vote, 10.1 million. was the largest ever cast for a Communication.

nist party in the West.

Outside party headquarters, a crowd of youthful supporters cheered wildly when Secretary-General Enrico Berlinguer, 53, the spare, introspective Sardinian who masterminded the unexpected showing, appeared on a floodlit balcony. Later, looking across a sea of red flags at a mass rally of 200,000 Communists in the Piazza of St. John Lateran, Berlinguer declared, "The political line of the Italian Communist Party promises the only valid democratic alternative to reactivate Italy. The gains of the Communist Party can only frighten the corrupt and the overbearing They cannot frighten honest citizens.

Test of Sentiment. Because the voting was regional rather than national, it had no direct relationship to the makeup of Parliament. Nor did it immediately affect Italy's national government, a rickety coalition of Christian Democrats and Republicans, with Socialist support. Nonetheless, as the first balloting since 1972, the election was a significant barometer of the national mood. More than that, it was a test of sentiment concerning Berlinguer's proposed "historic compromise." under which the Communists would share power with the Christian Democrats. the country. Evidently, an impressive number of Italians felt they had run it right into the ground.

The outcome alarmed partisans of democracy and NATO strategists who are already concerned about Portugal? continuing affit toward left-wing authoritarianism (see following story) When added to NATO's uncertainty over the future roles of Greece and Turkey as a result of the Cyprus crisis, the Italian vote portended troubles for the alliance's whole southern tier.

In Italy, the 'Black Tuesday 'ollowing the two-day election saw the Milan stock market record its largest single-day drop since a government collapse coincided with a slumping market I Syears ago Ginani Agenlii, chairman of Italy's gant Flat automotive empire, warned that the results would 'pash us, farther away from the Weststort Moviemakers, many of whom are radical chie Communist voters. freeted that Western cimenoney would dry up

The rest of the West took the election returns more calmly—less as a Communist triumph than as a defeat for

Since Italy's 1963 "opering to the left." the Christian Pemocrats have minimated power as dominant partners in a series of coultion Cahmets in volving Republisans. Social Democratis and Socialists: The small reformust Republican Party is particularly interested in fiscal conservation. The Social Democrats are viscously anti-Communist and pro-Europe. The Socialists are continually form between an ideological affinity with the Communist, their pre-Western loyalties and



THE WORLD

the Christian Democrats, who have grown flabby, inefficient, corrupt and arrogant. Both Washington and London stressed that voters in Western Europe tend to cross lines in regional contests as a means of registering protests, much as American voters do in primarite, the US about the respectability and acceptability of Italian Communists. Some British politicians even suggested that a Tito-style Communist Party in Italy would be more of an embarrass-

ment than an asset to the Kermlin The Christian Democrats keen long before election day that they were in trouble flatly's economic miracle had run out of steam. Searing consumer prices led to bloaded wage demands and a rash of strikes. Public services were so badly administered that they were cynically called "public disservices." Unemployment cost to 57% a high flatly cliniciding, unpopular higher Lases touch a bowle and armatic improvement



BERLINGUER ADDRESSES CROWD AFTER VOTE

Berlinguer: 'We Are Not in a Hurry'

"He's a good courade, but not very courade," a Communita official once said of Party Leader Enrico Berlingues Reserved and quite, Berlingues speaks in a dry, precise manner yet still manages to extude a creatin magnetism. He is an other than the same that the largest profession party in the West callused by any implement rougher than a sulboar's iller. The descendant of an aristernite, landowing Saradiana foundations are an arbest himself.

Communists have little trouble resolving the apparent conflicts between Berlinguer's background and bellefs. Partly that is a result of the Italian tradition that a man's life is his own business; mostly it reflects parly members' admiration for a master theoretician who has led them to unparalleled successes Last week Berlinguer discussed his phitloophy with TiME Correspondents Willtom Rademaekers and Jordan Bonfante Exceepts

ON THE ELECTIONS' MEANING. We believe the voters were able to compare those administrations in regions and cities where the Communists are a force in the government with those areas which have been governed by the Christian Democrats at the exclusion of the Communists.

ON THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE. We do not feel we are on the eve of entering the national government. We are not in a hurry. At this stage we believe it is should take the shape of a constructive relationship in Parliament. We do not propose national elections at present the control of the propose national elections at present the control of the propose national election at present the control of the propose national election at present the control of the propose national election at present the prese

ON ITALIAN COMMUNISM. International Communism presents a varied panorama. Within this panorama is the Italian Communist Party with its particular traditions and its original traits. We have always assumed the best democratic and patriotic traditions of the country, going back to the Risorgimento Our party has fought to guarantee all fundamental freedoms, including free-more progressive social and economic framework. We have never believed, even in 1945, that one single party—or single class—can solve the problems of our country.

our country

The Italian Communist Party is a
mass party, as distinguished from some
Communist parties based on cadres or
militants. We have a membership of
nearly 1.7 million. More than half are
workers from industry and agriculture,
but we also have white-collar members,
artisans, intellectuals, doctors, teachers,
working women and housewives—the

working people in the broadest sense ON THE AUTONOMY OF THE ITAL-IAN PARTY. The period of "leading parties" within the Communist movement is definitely over. There was a period in which an organized center of the Communist Party movement issued common and obligatory directives. That time is definitely finished. We have correct and friendly relations with nearly all Communist parties, but we feel that these relations must be based on absolute autonomy. For a long period of time-for example, during the Comintern-the Soviet Communist Party was recognized as having a special position of hegemony. We ourselves recognized that function, but now the sun has definitely set on that period

on that period

ON COMMUNIST PLANS ONCE IN
POWER. In the first place, on an intertant ploicy level here would be imporant ploicy level here would be impored to the place of the place of the place of the place
ple first me would push for a loss step
forward in agricultural and industrial
production, based on technological modermization. Second, and this sivally important, we would promote the moral
cleanting of Italian political, social and
themse of our electoral campaign—to
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put an end to corruption and malfunction within both the public administration and the parties. There is a tie between common crime and political disorder, and until such a time as we eliminate corruption—particularly at the top—we cannot expect major changesat the level of crime in the streets.

ON NATO. We do not propose that Italy give up membership in any international organization to which it belongs, nor would we propose it if we were part of the government. I am speaking here in particular of the Common Market and NATO. There is now a process of detente in the world. The U.S. and Soviet Union are the main architects, but other countries also participate. A unilateral Italian withdrawall from NATO would upset the entire process of

ON RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. In the nast, some American politicians were unable to recognize the independence of national Communist parties. There has been a tendency to feel that all parties are integral parts of a Communist monolith This was the case in Viet Nam American leaders did not understand in time that they were dealing with a great national force. As far as the Italian Communist Party is concerned, we ask only that America not interfere in Italian internal affairs. I would very much like to have an opportunity to explain to American political personalities what our policy really is



FANFANI WINDING UP CAMPAIGN Some good, some not so good.

in Italy's balance of payments deficit, but the country is still in recession Crime increased dramatically: there have been 29 kidnapings this year alone The Christian Democrats were securged as the paradism of "malgoverno."

They were also criticized for no longer sensing or seeming to care about the national mood. Along with the Vatican, the party was badly embarrased last year in opposing a divorce law that Italians resoundingly supported in a national referendum. The Socialists effectively summed up broad general feeling in a campaign slogan: "The country has changed but the power has not."

With all sides talking about the need for rinnovamento (renewal), the Christian Democrats admitted some shortcomings in a slogan of their own: "Thirty years of liberty-some good, some not so good-but all of them in liberty." Party Leader Fanfani made 200 campaign appearances, pledging his party's protection for "the Italian democratic system against ambushes of any sort." He regularly reviewed the ledger of Communist duplicity: "Twenty years ago in Hungary, seven years ago in Czechoslovakia, just three months ago in Portugal -a thousand promises on arrival, and then a totalitarian system

Reuliaite Aims. Fanfani's predicament was that Berlinguer's dissiplined, efficient Italian Communists have made a point of distancing themselves from the Soviet Union and from Portugal's Communist Party as well. Berlinguer, who has endorsed both NATO and the Common Market, has openly criticized Portuguese Party Leader Alvaro Cushfal for unwisely using old-line Stallinist

Despite the disturbing implications of last week's election. Italy is not on the verge of turning Communist, although, through their heavy control of labor unions, the Communists have the

capacity to bring all Italy to a halt (as they have demonstrated through innumerable strikes). Berlinguer is too much the realist to push for real power now He aims first of all for a "consultative" share in policymaking at the parliamentary level, rather than a partnership in a formal coeflition.

and the account of the historic components is must on the example of the Allende regime in Chile, a socialist regime in another Catholic country that instituted radical change so swiftly that instituted radical changes provided extremism on the right and frightened for fereign capital. Italian Communists seek to avoid these hazards by emphasizing moderation and stressing that they will reallowage goal individual they will reallow the swiftly and the swiftly reallowing the swiftly reallowed to the swiftly real t

A major dilemma confronts the Christian Democrats and the Socialists, who increased their share of the vote mo 98% to 12% 45 million, but had been hoping to 40 considerably better their party before the next national election, the job may be difficult since the party has its own right-center-left factions, which constantly disagree Leftists as week demanded Fanfanis resignstate week of the party has its own great party has the party has been party has been

lani, a centrist more palatable to the left Steep Price. The Christian Democrats will be pressed hard by the Socialists, whose economic program does not differ scriously from the Communists'. In the past, the government could always control the Socialists by threatening to form a coalition with right-wing parties, but last week's vote makes that virtually impossible. Thus the Socialists are in a position to demand a steep price for continuing to support the Christian Democrats in a center-left government They may insist, for example, on getting two of the three key Cabinet seats -Interior, Defense and Foreign Affairs If they are denied, they could threaten to form a popular front with the Communists, since together they command more than 45% of Italy's votes. But they are reluctant to do this, partly out of fear of being overwhelmed, partly out of loyalty to the West and skepticism that the Communists would really remain in NATO

If there is too much jouding between the coalition partners, Premise Ado Moro's government might topple and to a cat you general election. That would be unwise, for, as one Christian Democratic strategist observed rise and with a safety net—you full and act with a safety net—you full and act with a safety net—you full and take away the net. "After last week's results, the Christian Democratic strain Democratic or the wire before they can remove the net.

PORTUGAL

A Turning Point for

Portugal edged close to a leftist dictatorship last week and then barely retreated-but the country lost more freedoms. A crisis had erupted over the issue of whether the country would be able to make its fragile coalition government work or would dispense with political parties altogether and install either a military government or an outright proletarian dictatorship run by workers' commissions and neighborhood committees. President Francisco da Costa Gomes, fresh from a bridge-building visit to Rumania, went into extraordinary. round-the-clock sessions with the 29member Revolutionary Council, the government's highest authority. Said a Western diplomat in Lisbon: "This is the most critical point of the revolution

Marathon Meeting. The newest crisis grew out of three issues: 1) the seizure by leftist printers of the Socialist newspaper República, which reopened briefly last week only to be closed again. 2) a takeover by workers of Rádio Renascença, the official station of the Roman Catholic Church, which led to violence between Catholic and anticlerical demonstrators: 3) a bid by the Socialists to turn the new Constituent Assembly into a more formal parliament; that move was opposed by the Communists because their representation, based on their 12.5% showing in April's elections, would be insignificant in such a body. The incidents were symptomatic of a growing power struggle involving not only the Socialists and the Communists but also an emerging "populist"



The Revolution?

third group, even further to the left than the Communists, led by the erratic General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, 39, commander of the national security force.

Late last week, after a marathon session lasting into the early hours of Saturday morning, the Revolutionary Council delivered its new policies in a 15-page communiqué. While the document clearly tightened the military's control, particularly over the media, it seemed designed to effect a compromise among the increasingly polarized political factions. The Council endorsed "the very valuable role" of the political parties and reiterated its commitment to pluralistic democracy. But it rejected the Socialists' bid to enlarge the powers of the Constituent Assembly, which is limited to framing a new constitution. In a gesture to the populists, workers' committees will be permitted, but they will not be allowed to form in the military as Carvalho had wanted. At the same time, the Council warned that the parties in the coalition government must come up with programs to solve the country's worsening economic problems by the end of July "or the present coalition will be considered inadequate."

"False News," The overwhelming response was one of relief that Portugal once again had stepped back from the brink of dictatorship. Some Council members, it is believed, argued for the immediate establishment of a Communist state but were rejected by the majority. Said Socialist Mario Soares, leader of Portugal's largest political party "There is more hope for parliamentary democracy today than there was yester-The communiqué, he added, "is very explicit because it rejects a dictatorship of the proletariat and the way of a people's democracy and reaffirms the original movement toward a socialism compatible with several political narties fundamental liberties and the right of a legal opposition.

There could be little optimism, however, about the Council's limitations on press freedoms. Much of the media has already been nationalized, but the Council said that it would assert editorial control over radio and television. The Council also threatened foreign journalists who report what it called "false and discorted news" about Portugal, saying that mit action against these prevaricators." it would consider new legislation to restrict them.

The harsh measures against the media—believed to have been a concession to radicals in the Council—do not seem to bode well for an early settlement of the Repüblica affair. The drama at the newspaper began last month when the paper's dissident typesetters demanded an editorial voice in the newspaper. The



SOCIALISTS WATCH AS TROOPS OUST DISSIDENT PRINTERS FROM REPUBLICA OFFICES

government sealed the paper, pending resolution of the conflict. After lengthy negotiations, it was reopened last week, only to be seized again by the workers

The Radio Renascença affair sharply echoes the República dispute. Trouble has been brewing at the station ever since Catholic authorities refused to allow newscasters to report the return from exile of Soares and Communist Party Chief Alvaro Cunhal after the 1974 revolution. Three weeks ago workers who wanted a say in the radio's editorial policy seized control and began broadcasting. When 3,000 anticlerical leftists turned out to demonstrate at the residence of António Cardinal Ribeiro in Lisbon last week, they were met by 700 Catholics. The Catholics, including 150 priests and 30 nuns, hoisted paper crosses and rosaries. The leftists rushed them, shouting "Death to the fascists!

and petiting them with rocks.

The exact role of the Communists in the two incidents is unclear. Last week in the two incidents is unclear. Last week communist newspaper Annue of the communist newspaper Annue of the communist in the communist in takeover. But there are already spings of a backlash against the Communists in a backlash against the Communists in a backlash against the Communists of a backlash against the Communist and backlash against the Communist and backlash against the Communist and backlash against the Rommunist the Communistic State of the Commu

The Revolutionary Council warned that it would no longer tolerate such demonstrations. Said its communique. "Repression of various forms, including armod action if necessary, will be carried out against groups or organizations which systematically perturb public or and offere groups or organizations which systematically perturb public or and offere groups or organizations which systematically perturb public or and offere groups of the country attains. The clear implication was that unless the country attains some sort of secial and political peace, even more freedoms may go.

GREECE

Fresh Try at Democracy

Modern Greeks still like to refer to their country as the enadle of democracy, but in fact Greek politics has rarely reflected Attica's ancient heritage Scarcely had Greece won its independent of the state of the

Last week Greeks seemed to be willing to try—for the moment—a new constitution that strikes a delicate balance
between the two. The first test of the
constitution, adopted by the Greek Parliament earlier this month, was the parliamentary election of a new Presiden
with broad powers. The winner, with a
comfortable 210 out of 300 votes, was
Constantine Tastos, 76, the handpicked nominee of Greece's Premier
Constantine Caramanlis

Power and Discipline. Tsatisos, a conservative intellectual and gifted speechwriter who has turned his talents olaylly to Caramaniis. New Democracy Party, is expected to press Caramaniis Populicies while the Premier stays on in Parliament to mold the party's power and discipline. Then, perhaps a year from now, Tsatsos is expected to resign his five-year term, allowing the New Democracy majority in Parliament to elect Caramaniis to the office.

That scenario is perfectly legal under the new constitution, which allows a two-thirds majority in Parliament to elect a replacement President to a full term. To Greece's parliamentary opposition, led by the Center Union-New Forces Party's George Mavros, it seems tailor-made for the paternalistic, De

THE WORLD

Gaulle-like Caramanlis, as do other articles in the document. Some of the most controversial provisions:

➤ The President appoints and can dississ the government (the Premier and his ministers) without consulting Parliament. He can dissolve Parliament without consulting the government if the believes it does not reflect the national mood or deems it unstable, but he must call new elections within 30 days.

➤ The President can declare martial law and rule by decree for 30 days without Parliament's approval.

▶ Police are authorized to grant or refuse permits to public open-air meetings, a popular political forum in Greece. Police presence is also authorized at any meetings permitted. Denials of permits must be justified in writing.

In terms of presidential authority, the Greek constitution resembles the French, which also empowers the President to appoint his Premier, dissolve Parliament, and take unspecified measures in national emergencies. Yet despite resemblances to other democratic constitutions and despite Greece's historic instability, Mayros and other critics charge that the constitution as it stands endangers civil liberties and gives far too much power to the President. To dramatize their criticism. Mayros led opposition Deputies in a parliamentary walkout when the constitution was adopted, and nominated an opposition candidate for President, who subsequently received 65 votes. Still. Mayros concedes that the new constitution is "valid" and pledges to work to modify it in Parliament

Out of Politics. New President Tsatsos, who drafted much of the document, explains that "it is a Greek constitution. It provides flexibility for our psychological dispositions. If a government receives

a vote of confidence, there will be no more votes of confidence for six months so that Parliament can tend to its business." As for the power to dissolve Parliament, Tsatosa argues, "the people are the check. If the President misuses his power and cannot win a majority in the election he must call, he will be out of politics."

Like any blueprint for government, the viability of the new Greek constitution will depend heavily on those who enforce it. In that regard, Athens Publisher Helen Vlachos, who returned last year from a self-imposed exile during the colonels' dictatorship to revive her prestigious daily Rathimerint, is confident that it will work. Says Vlachos: "I know the people who drafted it. They are responsible, intelligent, dedicated Greeks I trust them. Therefore I trust I KOREA/SPECIAL REPORT

The Long, Long Siege

Homs blaring raucously, swarms of cars and taxis swirl madly around the South Gate, an old entryway into the rail; this, justling meropolis of Seoul. South European and Japanese businessmen pile into cabarets and assorted pleasure adomes. Then, just before midnight, the pleasure seekers rush home to beat the midnight europe, and the lights start desert quite country lanes for tile- or thacter-roofed cottages: And a few miles beyond than perhaps an how at drive from

SOUTH KOREAN PRESIDENT PARK CHUNG HEE "We cannot allow internal disorder."

the teeming capital and its 6.5 million people. U.S. and South Kerean soldiers anxiously scan the dark, austree terrain of the Demillitarized Zone. All along the ISO-mile-long ONAL, from concrete-hard-ened bunkers or on tense patrols, they watch through the night for infiltrators, suboteurs or commandos from the Communist North.

To Americans especially, the elements are painfully familiar: a country divided since World War II Into implacably hostile sides, one Communist and the other capitalist: a Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) separating the two; a long and bitter history of skirmishes, provocations, threats and commandor aids that could culminate in an all-out war. This is not Viet Nam, however, but that other Asian country where Asians and

Americans have fought and died since

Between 1993, at entitles the Between 1993, at entitles the Between 1994 at 1993, at entitles the periodic that the step entitles the left at many as 4 million dead or wounded, including 195.730 American soldiers, and came perilously close to bringing, the U.S. and China into full-scale war. It was 25 years ago this week that a massive North Korean invasion force, supplied and encouraged by the Swiet Union, swept across the DMZ and threatmend to run the South's defenders right off the peninsula. On both sides of

the 38th parallel, which divides the country. Koreans preparing to note the anniversary of the conflict do so with more fear and uncertainty than they have felt in many years.

Wer Waery, Particularly in the strongly anti-Communits South, there is growing anxiety about the rapidly changing situation in Asia. The most important factor, for course, is the final U.S. with-drawal from South Viet. Nam. where \$0,000 Korean soldiers, the strongly in the late 1966s. Now South Koreans are asking themselves.

1) Will the dictatorial and ambitious Kim II Sung, absolute ruler of the North, be encouraged by the Communist triumph in Viet Nam to attempt another war of conquest in Korea?

2) If so, will a war-weary U.S., which still maintains 42,000 soldiers in the country, come to the aid of the South as it did 25 years ago?

Most U.S. analysts and, privately, many South Korean officials doubt that the North Koreans will try a massive

frontal assault against the South Morrocord education mercentiblances, South Korea is vasily different from South Viel. Korea is vasily different from South Viel. South of the Common Common Common Common and powerful, well-equipped armed forces. While there is internal opposition to the often repressive measures of Preremedy resembling civil war even the most outspoken dissidents, in fact, loather the Communist monolish in Pyongyang, and North Korean infiltrations are almost business of the Common Common force and Common Common Common Common Common force are almost business of the Common Common force and Common Common Common Common Common force and Common Common Common Common Common Common Common Common force and Common Comm

Even so, since the fall of Saigon, American officials have gone out of their way to reassure Seoul that the U.S. will stand by its 1953 Mutual Defense Treaty with South Korea. Last week, addressing the Japan Society in New York.



Photographs for TIML by David Burnett
Statue of Admiral Yi Sun Sin silhouetted against the bustling city of Pusan on the Korean coast







Clockwise from left: U.S. soldiers watch North Koreans from pagoda-style observation tower in Panmunjom, Girls perform at anti-Communist rally led in Seoul by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon. A young Korean at the same rally slashes his stomach and writes







anti-Communest stown with his own blood. South Korean airhorne cudets training. North Koreans on paradie near truce lime Center. U. S. 2nd Division soldiers on maneuvers north of Seoul use colored smoke grenades to simulate exploding devices.







Looking for names of loved ones at monument (below) in Seoul's National Cemetery that honors more than 120,000 soldiers who died in Korean War. Right families pay irrbute to the dead on Memorial Day.









Shipbuilders (left) working on frame of large vessel at Hyundai shipworks at Ulsan in southeast part of Korea. A Korean farmer (above) spreads insecticide on field planted with rice near Kyongju

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger pointedly asserted that the U.S. was "resolved to maintain the peace and security of the Korean peninsula." Added Kissinger: "This is of crucial importance to Janan and to all of Asia."

In recent months there have been a number of unsettling signs. The Soul government has found and sealed off two tunnels running from North Korea Les the southern half of the 23-mile with the south has been North Korean Leader Kim II sungs it timerary since the Communist victory in Viet Nam. Kim made highly poblicized rips to China. Runnania and Yugodavui. in whith Scoul sees as an of Yugodavui. in whith Scoul sees as an off-time of the southern with the southern half of the southern

Pyongyang is widely expected to achieve one important propaganda success next fall. a U.N. General Assembly resolution calling for an end to the U.N. mandate in Korea under which



POET KIM CHI HA IN SHACKLES

the American troops are stationed south of the DMZ. Washington will keep the American forces in place no matter what happens at the U.N., since only the Security Council, where the U.S. has a veto, can actually abolish the command There is speculation that the U.S. will agree to discuss the removal of its troops from under the U.N. command structure before a vote is taken in the General Assembly. In either case, the resulting propaganda gains for Pyongyang would be an unwanted sign to Seoul of the extent to which the hated North has gained support throughout the world (see story page 441

Most serious of all is the fact that more than I million heavily armed, well-trained troops are arrayed on both sides of the DMZ. 625.000 in the South and 467.000 in the North see map page 40). The Korean forces, combined with huge Soviet air and naval installations in Vladivostok, just 40 miles from the border, with perhaps 1.5 million Soviet and Chi-with perhaps 1.5 million Soviet and Chi-

Park: Survival Is at Stake

The Blue House, official residence of South Korean Pretident Park Chung Hee, sits amidst manicured gardens in the hills overlooking Seoul. There last week TIME Diplomatic Editor Jerrold Schecter. Tokyo Bureau Chief William Stewart and Correspondents. Chang met with Park for 1½, hours. Relaxed and self-assured, Park alternately smoked a pipe and cigareties as he propounded his views. Excepts.

ON THE COMMUNIST VICTORY IN VIET NAM: The fall of the Siging government was a retreat of American power. Recent developments in Indochina have obviously heightened the possibility of the North Korean Communists growsking a war by missacludation. The North Korean could launch an all-out attack, but that is not feasible without help from Red China or the Soviet Union. They could also wage a limited war for limited objectives a thrust across the DMZ, an attack, on the first intel objectives a thrust across the DMZ, and tack on the five islands in the Western Sea, or the infiltration of guerrillae relationship in the Community of t

ON THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO SOUTH KOREA: Since the Administration and leading members of the Congress have reaffirmed time and again that they will live up to the American defense agreement with Korea, I do not question the U.S. commitment. I agree with the view that as the U.S. commitment to Korea is intended to secure peace in Asia, it is a commitment to the entire free world.

ON EFFESSING DISSENT: Illegal acts that foment social disorder and conflusion in the face of threats of aggression from the North must be controlled to safeguard the basic rights of the majority. People lwhol criticize what we do in Korea measure the situation with the same yardstick that they use in the U.S. Here the situation is much more desperate. Only 25 miles from Seoul, an enemy is bent on destroying us. We can not allow disorder. If we liberatize internally, if we let the students riot and the workers go on strike, the resulting comtractivities of the strike of the strike of the strike transcription. I am at a loss to understand circles were was no criticism. I am at a loss to understand circles inclined to the strike of the strike of the strike of the strike the strike of the time of the strike the strike of the strike the strike of the strike the strike of the strike the strike of the strike the strike of the strike the strike of the strike the strike of the strike the strike of the strike the strike of t ON SOUTH KOREA'S SUCCESS. We have surpassed the North Korean Communists in economic competition, while keeping them from unleashing another war of aggression. We have coped with their persistent provocations ever since the signing of the armistice agreement in 1953. This may well be our most significant achievement, since it serves as a basis for peace, and for peaceful returnification and sustained economic North Korean in all fields exceet the military.

ON THE REUNIFICATION OF NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA: As the North Koreans have not renounced their scheme to con munize the South by force. I see slim prospects for unification in the near future. When a foundation of peace has been secured by accelerating dialogue and cooperation between the South and North, we can proceed to unification through free elections conducted in proportion to the population. But judging from their actions, the North Koreans are not interested in dialogue. Kim Il Sung has publicly asserted that he will not continue the dialogue unless the present government resigns and the U.S. withdraws its forces. They are employing the same tactics that the Viet Cong used in Viet Nam when they said they would negotiate only if Thieu stepped down. When Thieu stepped down, they said Huong was not eligible; and then when "Big" Minh came, there was nothing left to negotiate

ON KOBEAN-JAPANESE RELATIONS. Unhappy relations seised in the past between Kore and Japans. Since the normalization of diplomatic relations in 1965, we have striven to maintain and develop friendly relations, accepting Japan as a partner from the broader standpoint of contributing to the contribution of the service of Japans and the service of the service of Japans will be threatened, and there would be a danger that Japan's domestic order would undergo asweeping change.

ON HIS AMBITIONS AS PRESIDENT: I have never worked with a view toward pormoting my personal popularity. I have devoted myself to the national security and prosperity of our country. During my stay in office, I would like to achieve the basic aspiration of all the Korean people: the peaceful unification of our fatherand. To achieve it, a durable peace must first be achieved on the where the other people in the people of the peace of the people of

THE WORLD

ness troops facing off at the Manchurian border and with a lethal US. nuclear ar-senal on Okinawa, put the Korean penisula at the center of what may well be the most intensively militarized region in the world. The very existence of these enormous armed forces, in consideration of the control of the contr

The Korean peninsula has always been a key to the stability of Northeast Asia. It is of vital concern to the Japanese, with over 51, 5 billion worth of investments on the peninsula and the employed to the strategiest, locking toward the post-vett Nam era, are already talking about a Northeast Asia defense line, anchored in Japan, Tawan and South Korea. In all three countries, the U.S. has strong and the peninsula defense treative to the post-vett of the peninsula defense treative.

The atmosphere of détente will undoubtedly lead both China and the Soviet Union to discourage military adventurism by Kim Il Sung. While Kim was in Peking, his hosts stressed that their "resolute support" of the Korean people was actually for "the independent and peaceful reunification" of Korea. It was an unmistakable message to Kim that Peking does not want a renewed Korean War. In fact, the Chinese are so concerned about stability in the region that high-level Peking officials have broadly hinted-to U.S. visitors, among others -that they are not anxious for American forces to leave East Asia. The Soviets were at least as discouraging. In his recent travels, Kim conspicuously omitted the Soviet Union; according to senior Soviet experts on Asia, Moscow did not want him to visit at the present time.

Industrial Takeoff. The greatest obstacle to Kim is the strength of South Korea itself. In the quarter century since the last war, South has, except for airpower, reversed the military situation that existed in 1950 when Pyongyang had superior forces. The South has also surpassed the North in virtually every other aspect of life, especially the commy. South Korea has sustained one of the highest annual growth rates in the world—1052—since 1964. That is a lone.

way from the days just after the Korean War, when the primitive rice-growing economy was shattered and the population on the

verge of starvation Today Korea seems ready for a genuine industrial takeoff Factory chimneys and television aerials crowd the skylines of industrial areas like Suwon, Chonan, Taegu and Inchon. Mountains West Virginia coal are piled up at Pohang on the southeast coast, where 10.000 employees are producing steel or building plants for what will be the world's largest integrated steelworks. Farther south at Ulsan, the rocky coastline is broken by the giant hulls of 230,000-ton supertankers taking shape at ultramodern vards. South Korea's G.N.P., \$17.2 billion, is about the same as Greece's, and per capita G.N.P. for its 33.5 million citizens is \$513, v. \$129 after the Korean War. If industry is growing

so is agriculture; since 1965 there has been an impressive 3% yearly increase in crop output. Mechanization has not yet made much headway, and work in the fields is as backbreaking as it has been for centuries. For years the West has had an urban preoccupation," says a senior South Ko-



SOUTH KOREAN AIRBORNE TROOPS TRAINING The most militarized region. rean official, sounding vaguely Maoist. "Yet in modern Asian history it has been the peasantry which has been

the moving force. We have tilted the

allocation of resources toward the

countryside."

This rapid conomic growth has exacted a high social cost. For one thing, are it is based in part on very cheap labor. The average Korean worker receives a starting pay of about only 454 a month, and for that he has to work six days a week and often more than ten hours a day. There has also been a degree of profiteering by corrupt officials; though not an excessive amount compared with some other countries in Asia. In any

case despite these inequities, almost ev-

erybody has benefited from Korea's eco-

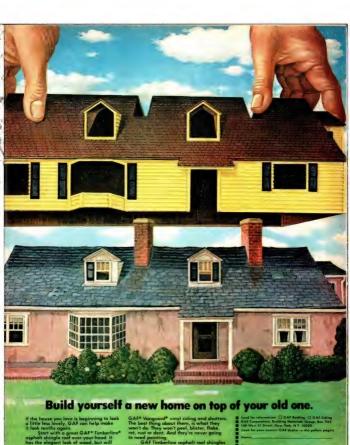
nomic growth and, as TIME Correspon-

dent William Stewart reports from

Seoul, there is an expectation of still bet-

ter things to come Time to Relax. "There is a ready cheerfulness," Stewart cables, "quite distinct from Japanese reserve or Chinese reticence. Koreans are open, forthcoming and demanding. And while they tear down and rebuild, they also live comfortably among the signs and customs of 2,000 years. The grounds of Seoul's K vongbok Palace in late spring are rich with blossoms. Korean men still like to relax and discuss the business of the day at a Kisaeng party, the Korean equivalent of a geisha soirée. Less contrived and artful than its Japanese counterpart. a Kisaeng party is a time to sing, dance. talk and relax.

To a great extent, the Korean economic success is a personal monument to the country's finity President Park. Rapid growth did not really begin until about 1962, when Park's government instituted the first of the country's five-



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MCDONNELL DOUG



The G.l.s: 60,000 Miles to Breakfast

To earn their breakfast. the 15,000 GLs of the U.S. 2nd Infanty Division collectively run some 60,000 miles every morning—4 miles per man including officers) in at least 32 minutes. The division has good reason for keeping its men in top shape: it defends a 500-sq. mi area bestriding the Uijongbut Corridor. traditional invasion route to Seoul and a mere 15 miles from the DMZ.

The men of the 2nd account for roughly one-third of the 42,000 U.S. servicemen still stationed in South Korea Strung out across 159 installations, exposed to sub-zero cold and vulnerable to blitz attack from crack North Korean units, they are probably the toughest, best-trained and most combat-ready American forces anywhere. They are also among the most important politically. On the one hand, Pyongyang views them as the major obstacle to its unifying the Korean peninsula under Communist rule: on the other, Seoul sees the American presence (although reduced considerably from its 1953 peak of 325,-000 men) as both a deterrent to attack and an earnest demonstration of Washington's commitment to defend South Korea in the event of attack

And the exception and no longer assigned to guard an extended sector of the 150-mile-long DMZ, as if was until 1971. Still, its location near the oft-used mountain passes at the western edge of the truce line means that its units would be engulfed by the fighting almost immedirate part of the control of the control of the strength. Moreover, the strategir reserve for [Corps Groups—a 175.000-man force that includes twelve ROK (Republic Corps Groups—a 1975.000-man force that includes twelve ROK (Republic Koreal divisions as well as the U.S. 2nd.

Tactically, the most important American units in South Korea may be the U.S. Air Force units; their supersonje F.4 Phantom fighter-bombers are needed to offset the 3-to-1 superiority in air power that the North boasts over the South. Other key U.S. units provide antainternaft and surface-to-surface missile support, and field engineering, trucking and losistics battalions.

Much of South Korea's military mmand and control functions are in U.S. hands. All 18 ROK army divisions. for example, are under the operational control of General Richard G. Stilwell. 58 (no kin to World War II's "Vinegar Joe"). Stilwell wears the hats of commanding general of the U.S. Eighth Army, commander in chief of the United Nations Command and commander of U.S. Forces-Korea. The crucial I Corps Group forces are commanded by Lieut. General James P. ("Holly") Hollingsworth, 57, a veteran of World War II and Viet Nam; packing a pearl-handled revolver and generously salting his vocabulary, he frequently boasts that, if challenged, his men will "destroy the North Koreans with violence." The U.S. also controls all of Korea's air defenses and the sophisticated, countrywide military-communications network.

To keep U.S. combat forces in top shape. Stilwell has ordered an exhausting training regimen, and no outfit has carried his orders further than the 2nd Division. Each quarter, every unit of the 2nd undergoes two weeks of training in night fighting; the men sleep during the

day and maneuver at night in rugged terrain to accustom themselves to the night attacks employed by Communist troops 25 years ago Every six months the division's infant/men participate in air-mobile exercises complete with artillery support, helicopter gunships and fighter-bombers—and live ammunition.

In addition to their daily four-mile run, all of the division's men attend courses in tae kwon do. a. Korean version of karate, for three months, and many volunteer for more. They are also required to play some physically demanding sport like "combat football," a game combining the most crunching elements of soc-er, rugby and football.

The G.I.s must also devote at least 18 hours of duly time each month to some kind of formal education Observes Sergeant Dale McLaughlin at Camp Casey, headquarters of the 2nd Division." A man here is almost forced to get educated. You're hounded until you take something." Courses include high school subjects leading to a diploma and college-level studies.

When it comes to relax, ing. U.S. troops in Korea are the beneficiaries of 22 years of peacetime—or at least. trucetime—refinements. Officers' clubs and enlisted men's recreational faccities have been continually impraord and some now boast bowling alleys, phocupraphy darkrooms, and gem-polishing workshops. Camp Casey has carefully workshops. Camp Casey has carefully prod. a nine-hole golf course with green fees at a pre-inflation 55 per month, swo swimming pools and a huge gymnach as wimming pools and a huge gymnach as wimming pools and a huge gymnach as the control of the control of the control of the wimming pools and a huge gymnach as the control of the control of the wimming pools and a huge gymnach as the control of control control control of control control control control control control control

Some of the enlisted men are still barracked in cramped, 20-year-old, dormitory-style metal quonset huts. But there are growing numbers of new three-story "super hooches," which bunk only

three men to a room, Boog, or Bacher Officer Quarters, bear whimscal names like "Teahouse of the Anxious Moose"—moose being a corruption of the Japanese musume or girl. A recention center has been developed to accompany the "spartant training facility of south Korea, it offens sating, scuba driving and duck and pheasant shooting. The division has even sponsored occasional all-night rock concerts, qualinty called "Gunstocks".

The time-killing formula of training, education and recreation seems to have significantly reduced the racial tensions



LIEUT. GENERAL JAMES HOLLINGSWORTH IN KOREA

and drug problems that plagued U.S. forces in Korea and elsewhere in the 1960s and early 1970s. (Nearly half the 2nd Division's G.I.s are black and other minorities.) Morale also seems high in most places. A young lieutenant compared his life at Camp Casey with that at a "jock college." Closer to the DMZ. soldiers suffer from isolation, primitive facilities (hot baths once a week) and sheer boredom. It is at these bleak forward outposts that the U.S. would suffer its first casualties if North Korea were ever to launch a major attack. Thus, for the G.I.s based there, the boredom of a seemingly interminable truce may well be a blessing

THE WORLD

year development plans and began to receive huge amounts of foreign investment capital, the majority from Japan. Until then, Korea had stagnated under the ineffectual, if autocratic rule of aging President Syngman Rhee. Overthrown in 1960 by spontaneous, nationwide student demonstrations, Rhee was replaced for a brief period by a truly democratic regime led by President Yun Po Sun. But Yun's government proved incapable of maintaining public order in the face of continued demonstrations and the inability of squabbling politicians to decide on a national policy. In 1961 the government was ousted in a bloodless coup by Park, then a general in the Korean army, and a loyal band of 250 fellow officers.

The son of a peasant, Park was custed in a rigidly disciplinaria you custed in a rigidly disciplinaria may be used to the pre-1945 years when Japan was still the collection of the pre-1945 years when Japan was still the collection of the pre-1945 years a peasant per was brand of patriotism. Park transformed it into a fer-vital alignance to Korea. He joined the new Korea army in 1948 and onlysed 1948, incincially, for so militant an anti-Communist, he was tried and acquitted of being a Communist agent.

Social Control. As Kora's uncontested strongman. Park believed from the beginning that without certain Eastern 'modifications'. Western democracy could only cause 'indigestion' in Asia. In terms of the economy, this meant government encouragement of industry through such devices as underwriting foreign loans to basnies. It also involved strict supervision of the such control powerful Koran Central Instece on the powerful Koran Central Instelence Agency (K.C.I.A) as an instru-



In modern Asian history, the peasantry has been the moving force.

ment of social control. Founded in 1961 and employing an estimated 35,000 people, the K.C.I.A. has gained a reputation for brutality that, to judge from its victims, seems richly deserved.

It is this tendency toward totalitaranism that now threatens to undermine Korea's economic achievement. Until about two years ago. Park was careful to rule in strict adherence to the constitution. He served as President for three four-year terms, winning elections that were considered reasonably fair But after the 1971 balloting, when Opposition Candidate Kim Dae Jung won a surprising 46% of the vote, Park became discernibly more dictatory.

In 1972 Park declared martial law; then he proposed a drastic constitutional amendment called Yushin (Revitalization), which formalized his absolute power. Yushin freed the President from the "vagaries of politics" by eliminating popular presidential elections. Instead. a kind of electoral college was set up with 2,500 members; Park was empowered to fill one-third of the 219-seat National Assembly with those members of the electoral college whom he favored An extraordinary 91% of South Koreans voted in favor of the new amendment, a suspiciously high majority in view of the fact that nearly half of the electorate had voted against Park in 1971. "What else could they have done?" fumes Kim Dae Jung. "Park had guns

on them all at the time."

Tokyo Kindopping, Park used his enhanced powers to crack down even harder on his political opposition. Kim Dae Jung, who continued hyperbolically to brand Park an "Assistic edition of Hit-let." was adducted in bread daylight by the K.C.L.A from a hole from the K.C.L.A from a hole from the continue of the c

Last year Park ordered a massive swoop on his critics throughout the country. No fewer than 168 of them were found guilty of various antigovernment activities. Some were sentenced to death. including former President Yun Po Sun. who was accused of giving money to support student protests. Eventually the death sentences were rescinded and most political prisoners released. But eight men convicted by a military tribunal last year of fomenting anti-Park demonstrations were executed, and the current repression continues unabated Under his name last month, Park issued Presidential Emergency Decree No. 9, which makes any act of "denying, opposing, distorting and defaming' the constitution punishable by not less than one year in prison.

There are three principal targets of the decree: intellectuals; the reformminded clergy, including many mem-

AFRIAL VIEW OF NEW APARTMENT COMPLEX IN SECUL





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bers of the country's Protestant-run, worker-oriented, urban industrial missions; and university students, who have played a traditionally tumultuous—and sometimes irresponsible—role in Korean politics. All three groups are kept under careful surveillance.

The most celebrated opponent of the Park government is the popular poet Kim Chi Ha. 34. Kim has persistently used poetic satire to ridicule the government, earning several terms in prison for his efforts. Sentenced to death last year. Kim was released in February Last month he was jailed again on charges of having violated South Korea's sweeping anti-Communist law. The government, meanwhile, has begun international distribution of a pamphlet called The Case Against Kim Chi Ha. an effort to prove the highly dubious contention that Kim is a fervent Communist. Kim's friends fear that the government is moving to prepare public opinion for his execution

Like almost everybody else in South Korea, the dissidents, whom Kim Chi Ha calls "the tear-gas generation," are strongly anti-Communist. In persecuting them, President Park insists that unless he halts "social ferment," the North might misread the situation and launch an attack Indeed Park is faced with an excruciating dilemmar. How to maintain i a balance between democratic freedoms and the discipline necessary in a country genuinely threatemed by Invasion.

Still, his opponents argue that his repressive policies are aimed in large measure at keeping himself in power. Says Opposition Leader Kim Dae Jung: "Yes, the threat is there up north. But our President only keeps exaggerating it in order to prolong the life of his regime."

to protong incline to this regime.

Sea Clashes. One person who no doubt takes great comfort from Park's problem with dissidents is Kim II Sung. Though Pyongyang's ultimate strategy is unclear, the North Koreans would certainly like to foment subversion within South Korea in the hope of weakening and ultimately eliminating Park.

Fark.

In the view of many analysis, the North is most likely to test Soudi srackles and the strength of the American commitment, with a secretary and the American commitment, with a second the strength of the American commitment of the American commitment of the American countries for example, or sea clashes over five islands off the northwestern count that are under the U.N. command. The danger is that a failure by South Korean or U.S. forces to act forcefully in the face of such moves would be bad for Soudis morals.

To guard against just that, Washington has repeatedly tried to reaffirm its commitment to South Korea. President Ford's trip to Seoul last November was a clear warring to the North not to test the American will. State Department. National Security Council and Pentagon officials have made trips to Seoul to assess the military situation. In the event of a major assault across

the DMZ, the Pentagon's contingency plans call for an air and artillery blitz directed against military installations in North Korea and against the mountain valleys just North of the DMZ through which North Korean troops and supplies would have to pass. Despite the fact that reliance on bombing and artillery has not proved very effective in past Asian wars. Pentagon analysts confidently predict that without the jungle cover or the sanctuaries in Laos and Cambodia that the Vietnamese Communists enjoyed, the North Koreans would be quickly defeated. In fact, these analysts are convinced that a war would be wrapped up within the 60-day time limit allowed the President under the War Powers Act to commit American forces without congressional approval

But even if the war was to go on longer, there is little doubt that it would receive strong congressional and public support. A Harris Poll released last week

nications between Seoul and Pyongyang. Emissaries from Park and Kim shuttled between the two capitals, and there were meetings at Pammunjom, the village in the DMZ familiar to Americans as the site of numerous acerbic exchanges between the North Koreans and the U.N. Armistice Commission.

For Behind. One major problem, in the visor of some U.S. analysts, was that the opening of the dialogue made the North realize how far behind the South it was in economic development. Pyong-yang soon lost its enthusiasm for contacts. At the same time. South Koreans feared that the North was using the talks merely as one more means to extend Communism, of the South.

As long as North-South detente remains at best a distant prospect, South Korea's main pillar of national strength will be the allegiance of its own people. Thus the question of Park's repressive



AT PANMUNJOM, OFFICERS OF U.N. COMMAND (RIGHT) CONFRONT COMMUNISTS Frustrating Pyongyang's ambition to expand its rule over all of Korea.

indicated that 43% of Americans would favor using American land, air and naval forces to defend South Korea if it should be attacked by the North; 37% were opposed; and 20% unsure. In a survey of congressional leaders, TIME found a consensus that the House and Senate would approve U.S. intervention. This is not only because of binding treaty obligations but also because a North Korean attack over the DMZ would quickly bring American forces under fire. "I'm not saying there wouldn't be opposition," notes House Republican Conference Chairman John Anderson of Illi-"even strident opposition. But Congress would be supportive, even given the number of doves in the dovecote.

One solution to the Korean problem would be some sort of reconciliation between the two sides, an important element of which would be a diplomatic thaw between Washington and Pyongyang similar to the one between the U.S and China. Beginning in 1972, there was a short-lived effort to establish commutimes it is raised by Western critics who ignore the character of the Northern ragime while finding fault with almost evcrything Park does. But even sympaths are to be a compared to the same proper to be a gapter to has gained through exonomic prosperity by cracking down to be and on freedom of expression. Repressive rule could thus paw the way for exsately the kind of subversion and revolt sought by Kim Il Sung, especially if thereshould be a downturn in the economy.

In the event of war, full-scale or operating a distorting agreement could hurt South Korea in another essential agreement could hurt South Korea in another essential and weaken U.S. support. Park has far more to gain in the long run by preserving roughing the long run by preserving parasing a tight-lipped, short-range, and parasing a tight-lipped, short-range for about the security. Weighing the need for control in a dangerous situation remains one control in a dangerous situation tremains one call leader foods, was feeing any political and control of the security of

The North: Unceasing Repression

Despite his penchant for authoritarianism. South Korea's President Park Chung Hee seems positively Jeffersonian compared with his counterpart north of the Demilitarized Zone. No other country can rival North Korea in its thoroughgoing control over every aspect of the lives of its 15 million citizens, or in the total deification of its leader, President Kim Il Sung, 63

In nearly three decades of totalitarian rule, the Korean Workers' Party (as the Communist Party is called) has eliminated all traces of political opposition and most private property. The state



KIM AT NEW YEAR'S FETE IN PYONGYANG The other fellow seems Jeffersonian.

owns and operates all manufacturing and service enterprises, while peasants have been forced to surrender all but a tiny portion of their land to collective or state farms

The practice of Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity and animism has been suppressed. Movement about the country is impossible without a travel permit. Every forum for publicly criticizing the government or party has been destroyed. To break down the traditional Korean family structure, the Communist leadership ordered that lineage records be burned. Neighborhood mutual-surveillance teams have been established with the right to poke into the most private family affairs At the center of North Korean life

looms Kim. head of both government

and party and the most durable Communist leader except for Albania's Enver Hoxha (32 years in power to Kim's 30) and Yugoslavia's Tito (32 years). Pictures of the grinning, moonfaced leader are everywhere. Children reverently call him "our father," party officials refer to him as "the sun of our nation" and brides and grooms vow loyalty to him at wedding ceremonies. In Pyongyang, the 95 rooms and 21/2 miles of exhibits at the Museum of the Korean Revolution glorify every aspect of Kim's life. All North Koreans are required to devote two hours daily and four on Saturday to the study of Kim's philosophy-an amalgam of Marxist classics and chuch'e-an emphasis on national self-reliance and independence

Kim originally derived his power from the Soviets. Until the Japanese surrender ended World War II, Kim had been a relatively minor figure in the Korean nationalist movement. But with Soviet backing. Kim easily eliminated rivals within both the nationalist and Communist organizations-often by

having them shot

Cronies and Aunts, Today, Kim. still appears to retain absolute power Top government and party posts are dominated by trusted old cronics and relatives. His brother sits in the Politburo, while his wife is chairwoman of the Central Committee of the Women's League. A host of nieces and aunts hold high posts in that organization. The only challenge to Kim may be health: there have been rumors that he suffers from a malignant tumor in his neck

Despite his early dependence on the Soviets, Kim has become one of the world's most independent Communist rulers. This is partly a result of his deft ability to play Peking and Moscow off against each other. Probably more important, however, has been Kim's emphasis on chuch'e. As far back as the early 1950s, notes American University Political Scientist Rinn Sup Shinn, Kim became convinced that "North Korea's survival would be in peril if it did not achieve economic and military self-sufficiency." As a result, Kim has been driving his country's labor force at a brutal pace in order to industrialize

To some extent. Kim has succeeded From the nearly total ruins of the war, an industrial plant has been constructed that uses technologically obsolete methods to exploit the country's rich deposits of coal, copper, lead, zinc and a score of other important minerals. Historically a food-deficit area. North Korea today can at least feed its people a subsistence diet. To be sure, North Korean cities are depressingly drab, life remains hard, and even the most basic consumer goods are of poor quality and in chronically short supply. Moreover Pyongyang is so overextended that it has been defaulting on foreign loans

The North Koreans, nonetheless, enjoy low-cost housing, old-age pensions and free schooling and medical care While its living standard lags far behind South Korea's and its foreign trade of \$1.1 billion is only a tenth the size of Seoul's, the North has forged well ahead of such Asian Communist states as China, Mongolia and North Viet Nam

Kim's major goal remains the unification of the Korean peninsula under his rule. Because U.S. troops as well as Seoul's armed forces frustrate that effort. Kim has waged a savagely virulent anti-U.S. campaign. His determination to harass and humiliate Washington into withdrawing its troops was probably behind North Korea's capture of the U.S.S. Pueblo and its crew in January 1968 and the downing of an unarmed U.S. reconnaissance plane over international waters 16 months later. This temporarily earned him a reputation as an "outlaw Communist," and a top U.S. official, appalled by his unpredictability, only last week referred to him as "a lunatic." Kim has successfully courted other countries, however Pyongyang now has diplomatic relations with 81 nations, v. 93 for Seoul

There are rumors that Kim's nepotism is so deep-dyed that he is grooming his son Kim Jong II, 35, as his successor But neither Western nor Asian observers are sure. In fact all they can say with complete certainty about Kim Il Sung is that he is xenophobic, chauvinistic, ambitious, egocentric and thoroughly unpredictable-a combustible mix in a man with a modern army of nearly half a million and reserves of 2 million at his command

ARGENTINA

King's Ransom

While driving through the Buenos Aires suburb of La Lucila last September, Juan and Jorge Born, members of one of Argentina's richest families, were abducted by left-wing Montonero guerrillas. As a trainload of commuters watched in horror, the Montoneros, posing as policemen and telephone workers, forced the Borns' limousine into a side street, shot and killed their chauffeur and a business associate who was riding with them, and seized the brothers. Both were executives in the familyowned Bunge y Born, the largest privately owned firm in Argentina (grain,

Last week, after months of rumors that negotiations were under way, the Montoneros released Jorge Born, 41, at a railway station near the capital. Juan. 40, had been quietly released several months ago, apparently because his abductors feared for his health, but the news had been withheld so as not to endanger Jorge. Reported size of the Borns' ransom, perhaps the largest ever paid: \$60 million



THE EARL OF LUCAN IN 1971



GREAT BRITAIN

A Downstairs Murder

For four days last week, a small, red brick Victorian building on the fringe of London's seedy Pimlico district drew crowds of sightseers titillated by one of Britain's most sensational murder mysteries. Inside the coroner's tiny court on the first floor, a jury of six men and three women was hearing evidence of the brutal bludgeon murder last November of the nanny to a titled family and an attack on her employer, the Countess of Lucan, that put the countess in the hospital for a week (TIME, Nov. 25). Thirtytwo witnesses, Lady Lucan among them. dryly recited their testimony as the coroner summarized it in longhand. From the start, the inquest had become virtually a trial in absentia of Lord Lucan, 40, who has been missing since the night of the murder. The verdict of the coroner's jury, after only 31 minutes of deliberation: "Murder by Lord Lucan.

The crime seemed like a grotesque parody of Upstairs, Downstairs. Richard John Bingham is the seventh Earl of Lucan, an Irish title dating from 1795. He made gentleman's marks at Eton, joined the Coldstream Guards, then prepped at a London bank until one spectacular night 15 years ago when he won \$56,000 at chemin de fer. After that, "Lucky Lucan" became an inveterate gambler

Deeply in Debt. Marriage in 1963 to a petite commoner named Veronica Duncan did not change him. The couple had three children, but Lady Lucan saw little of her husband. She was often depressed, and the Earl twice tried to have her committed. His own behavior came to follow an almost obsessive pattern lunch at a gaming club, usually the Clermont, cards or backgammon in the afternoon, home to bathe and change. back to the tables in the evening

In 1973 Lord Lucan moved out of the couple's home in Lower Belgrave Street, sued for custody of the children. and lost. Bitter, drinking heavily, plunging at the tables, cursing the injustice of the legal system that denied him his children, he became, as one friend mildly puts it, "a bit of a burden." He was also deeply in debt, overdrawing his bank accounts some \$33,000

On the night of the murder, Lucan reserved a table for four at the Clermont His guests turned up; he did not. Lady Lucan told the coroner's jury that she was watching television with the elder daughter and the nanny. Mrs. Sandra Rivett, 29, had just gone down to the basement kitchen to make tea. When Mrs. Rivett did not return. Lady Lucan went downstairs and heard a noise in the cloakroom. "Somebody rushed out and hit me over the head. Three more blows followed. I screamed, and the person said 'Shut up!' I recognized the voice of my husband." Police found the nanny's battered body in a canvas sack and bloodstains on the walls and ceilings Ironically, it was Mrs. Rivett's usual day off-a fact, testimony showed, that Lucan had carefully ascertained in advance. He may have mistaken the nanny for his wife in the dimly lit basement

Lucan's own version of the night's events was reconstructed for the court from conversations with his mother, a friend and letters he posted before disappearing. He spoke of a "ghastly circumstance": passing by the house he had seen and surprised an intruder attacking his wife. But police testified that Lord Lucan could not have seen the incident from the street as he claimed Moreover, a piece of lead piping found in the car he abandoned matched a piece found in Lady Lucan's home-a piece stained with Mrs. Rivett's blood

If he is ever found alive. Lucan will have to stand criminal trial for the killing. But he has already achieved a distinction: he is the first British peer in 215 years to be accused of murder

SAUDI ARABIA

Death for the Assassin

Regard not those killed for the sake of Allah as dead, for they are alive beside him, resplendent in his favor and re-With those words in homage to the late King Faisal, Radio Rivadh thus ended its announcement that Prince Faisal ibn Musaed, the 26year-old member of the Saudi Arabian royal family who murdered his uncle. King Faisal, last March 25 (TIME, April 7), had himself been put to death

After weeks of investigation by Saudi authorities, the execution came swiftly. Loudspeaker vans rumbled through the streets of the Saudi capital one afternoon last week announcing that a sharia (religious) court had found the prince guilty and he would be executed immediately. Within minutes, an estimated 6,000 Saudis streamed into the city's Court of Justice Square facing the Rivadh Mosque. At the appointed hour. the young prince was led, blindfolded to the square. As he knelt with his hands tied behind his back, one of the sharia judges read him the court's verdict. Immediately thereafter, in keeping with the words of the Prophet Mohammed, "a soul for a soul," the prince was executed in the prescribed manner

Unmarked Grave. First a security man prodded him in the side with a sharpened stick. Then, as the prince straightened his body in response. the executioner's gold-handled sword flashed and the condemned man's head rolled from his shoulders. The crowd, silent until that moment, broke into shouts of "Allahu akhbar [God is great]." For 15 minutes the prince's head was dis-



THE LATE PRINCE FAISALIBN MUSAED A soul for a soul.

played on the tip of a spike for the crowd's inspection; eventually an ambulance collected it and the body for burial in an unmarked grave

At the time of King Faisal's death, the government announced that the prince was mentally deranged-and thus presumably would escape death After further investigation, however, Saudi authorities concluded that the murder had been the politically motivated act of a sane man. In fact, said Radio Riyadh, the prince had confessed to the assassination, explaining it as an effort to rid Saudi Arabia of the rule of Islam because it stood "in the way of the development of the country.



13 in:

WEDDED WETSONS WITH TWO GIFT DOVES

"Dad said not to worry. He speaks French and said he'd poke me when I'm supposed to say oui." laughed Model Margaux Hemingway, 20. shortly before her Paris wedding to Entrepreneur Errol Wetson, 34. While some two dozen family members and friends burried to France to attend the hastily arranged civil ceremonies last week, Errol and Margaux sped through a battery of blood tests and physical exams. At week's end. with Papa Jack Hemingway and his longtime friend Hotel Owner Charles Ritz as witnesses, the pair were pronounced Mr. and Mrs. by the mayor of Paris' first arrondissement. Afterward. there was a reception at the Ritz Hotel Ouipped Jack: "I spent the first 50 years of my life just being the son of somebody. Now I'm going to spend the rest of it just being the father of somebody."

"The kid rides real good," judged veteran western Actor Slim Pickens after a day on the trail with Steve Ford, 19. With six saddle-wary Secret Service agents in tow, the President's soon had gene to the athletic community of San agents in the six of the

As if Hugh Hefner didn't have enough problems with the financial side of the Playboy empire, last week he faced a revolt in the bunny hutch. Protesting company rules that prohibit Playboy Club employees from dating customers, as well as visiting the club as private citizens after working hours. a ten-member bunny brigade hoisted placards and took to the pavement in front of the Chicago Playboy headquarters. The high-heeled picketers easily carried the day. Hefner, obviously sensing a way to inject some new life into his ailing clubs, readily acceded to demands for dating freedom, then proclaimed all bunnies honorary club members with full access to facilities Confessed Hef at day's end: "Maybe I've been just a wee bit overprotective.

"SIT WID LDLIDR WRITER, HARD-WORKING, WELL-CONNECTED, SEEKS MORL INTERESTING MEDIA POST. CON-TACT Julie Nixon Eisenhower." That ad never appeared, of course, but such was the message distilled from friends of Julie's who passed the word that the former President's daughter was growing tired of editorial duties at the Saurday

Exempt Post. "She's looking for opporunities." confirmed Husband Dovid, a law student at George Washington University. He then offered a sterling, if somewhat biased reference for his wife, who will continue as sometime "consulting educy" for the Post." She's very cretified to the Post. The same post of thing the wants to, as long as the condo it from Washington. That's where our life is at least for the next year.

Life must seem like a labyrinthian novel to Doris Kearns, 32, a lightningly articulate associate professor of government at Harvard. Chapter I began in 1970 when Kearns, a public critic and private confidante of Lyndon Johnson during the last years of his life, contracted with Basic Books to write a psychohistory of the L.B.J. presidency. In April, after finishing 480 pages. Kearns returned her \$24,000 in advance rovalties and negotiated a new contract with Simon & Schuster. She would produce an even broader study to be written with former L.B.J. Speechwriter Richard Goodwin, 43, a widower with whom Kearns has been living for the past year. Their new contract: \$150.000 Basic Books promptly sued the authors In addition, Harvard, which had planned on giving Kearns tenure on the basis of her manuscript this summer, decided to wait until fall. Last week Goodwin withdrew from the project, bemoaning "public innuendo that Doris is incapable of doing her own work without my help." He added: "Neither my work nor its rewards have the slightest significance beside this harm

PLAYBOY PICKETERS LEAD A WELL-WATCHED



PEOPLE

to a woman I love." Kearns, who was left holding the book, vowed to continue alone. Now in Chapter 2

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is far better at handling complex American foreign policy than he is at simple house repairs. At least that is what Wife Nancy reports during an interview about homelife with Henry in the current issue of W. "Odd jobs are not his forte," she reveals. "If something breaks, he just looks at it and says. 'It's bro-" Nancy adds that family discussions fall a few steps short of the summit as well. "I know it sounds odd, but we really don't talk about foreign policy." she discloses. "By 8 or 9, or whatever time he gets home. I think he's pretty well sick and tired of whatever he happens to be doing."

"Out there on the desert—just beuleus, mean off yeet," must effect just give
valeu, domical Big Daddy of TV's Koydseries. On location in the Namib Deserin South West Africa, where he filmed a
hriller called The Damond Mercentartes, Savalas polished up his soft-shor shuffler on the Namid Mercentartes, Savalas polished up his soft-shor shuffler for a new cabaret act. With a recshuffle for a new cabaret act. With a rechas began talking like the new hero of
the beer-and-shart set. "When the save hero
prince Charming." he boasts.

"The work I'll be doing is similar to the work I've done before," said former Presidential Assistant Jeb Stuart Magne der of his new job. There will be some differences, presumably Magruder, who served seven months in jail for his work in the Watergate cover-up, has been hired as an administrative vice president of Young Life, a nondenominational Christian organization that claims 75.000 teen-age members. The job came about, he said, thanks to the help of his old friend and Young Life board member, Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon Because of the skepticism that greeted another old Nixon hand who suddenly turned to religion, however. Magruder declined to talk about his own beliefs "It's a difficult subject to discuss," he explained. "You've seen what happened to Chuck Colson

The cheap scats sold for \$50, and some front-row spots went for \$10,000 At those prices, scarcely a ticket holder failed to appear at last week's Manhattan benefit for the Martha Graham Dance Company. The guest of honor of the evening, which starred Rudolf Nurevey and Margot Fonteyn, was First Lady Betty Ford in a flowing purple Halston gown. She was escorted by Woody Allen in tux and sneakers ("I think those black shoes they have with tuxedos are terrible"). But the evening's most eveopening costume belonged to Nureyey, who danced his role clad only in a solid gold mesh dancer's belt. After his performance, the very bare dancer greeted the First Lady with the poise of a man wearing tie and tails. When asked later what Betty had to say about his threads. the Star responded: "She did not say anything. Why, does it bother you?

SOFT-SHOE DANCER TELLY SAVALAS



REVOLT ON CHICAGO'S MICHIGAN AVENUE







MARTHA GRAHAM WITH WOODY ALLEN & BETTY FORD, NUREYEV & FONTEYN

Murder by Mistake

Whenever Bernard Cabanes, 41, editor in chief of Agence France Presse would run into Bernard Cabanes, 51, editor of the lowbrow morning daily. Le Parisien Libéré (circ. 800.000), the two identically named journalists would trade mistaken-identity stories-like the time in 1963 when police in Algeria arrested one of them for criticizing the government in print, when they really wanted the other. Last week the Bernard Cabanes who headed the news agency was buried. He was the victim of French journalism's bloodiest labor dispute in decades-and, once again, of mistaken identity

Giant Rolls. The A.F.P. editor died of stomach and leg injuries suffered when a bomb exploded just after 1 a.m. in the doorway of his suburban Paris apartment-a bomb that French police are certain was intended for the other Bernard Cahanes Minutes after the explosion, an anonymous caller told a local radio station, "We have just blasted the home of Cabanes of Le Parisien Libére The newspaper, largest morning daily in France, has been wracked since March by periodic strikes of a heavily Communist printers' union, the Fédération du Livre. The strikes were inspired by lav-



offs ordered by the proprietor. Emilien Amaury (who also owns the lucrative sport newspaper L'Equipe). Because Le Parisien Libéré, like most French papers, was having financial problems. Amaury announced early this year that he would cut the payroll by some 300 employees, including 200 printers. After a series of walkouts, the printers finally took over two Le Parisien Libéré plants on May 6 and barricaded themselves behind giant rolls of newsprint. They have

been there ever since The paper did not appear for two weeks, until Amaury had a pirate edition printed in Belgium. Union officials got wind of the action, seized two Parisbound truckloads of the bootlegged papers, and scattered them across Flanders fields. Yet about half the normal press run made it through, and since then the daily has been published more or less regularly in a plant north of Paris with the aid of some Le Parisien Libéré printers who belong to the socialist Force Ouvrière, a union that does not recognize the strike. That labor organization's head. André Bergeron, escaped injury when a bomb exploded on his doorstep just a few minutes after the one that killed Cabanes. All together. government officials estimate, there have been some 150 acts of violence as-

sociated with the strike

The Day the Music Died

Sleepy listeners to WITT, a soft-spoken popular-music FM radio station in Tuscola, III., may have wondered whether some lunatic had just been named station manager. A news program came on at 6 a.m., as it does every morning -but it did not go away. At this moment, the news is still playing on WITI and there is no indication when Glenn Miller and the top 40 will return

The Tuscola station is merely one of the latest converts to the "all news" format, a music-free marathon of news. sports, weather and feature programs that has become the hottest formula in radio. Pioneered in 1961 by XTRA, a station in Tijuana, Mexico, that beamed its signal to Southern California, allnews had until last week been adopted by fewer than 20 of the nation's 7,140 AM and FM outlets. But those form an elite group: New York City's WCRS, the nation's most listened to station: KNX in Los Angeles, which has climbed from eighth place to first place in L.A.-area ratings after switching to all-news in 1968: and first- or second-place stations in Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston and San Francisco, all of which have moved up sharply in the ratings after going

all-news Big Expenses. One important reason that relatively few stations have adopted the format, despite its impressive success, is its equally impressive cost. Instead of a skeleton crew of disc jockeys and rip-and-read announcers an all-news station typically has platoons of street reporters, anchor persons. helicopter-borne traffic spotters, weather analysts, consumer reporters, writers editors, directors and producers. New York's WCBS, for example, has 60 editorial employees, nearly three times its pre-all-news complement, and Chicago's WBBM went from 32 staffers to 64 when it made the switch in 1968. Says WBBM General Manager Bill O'Donnell "We could run two or three stations with

the overhead of this one. Why, then, is Tuscola's tiny WITT plunging into that high-priced circle? Last week, for the first time, all-news radio was brought within the means of every 50-watt hymn-and-hog-price station in the nation, NBC, which has been taking losses since 1973 on its network radio broadcasts, is trying to reverse those fortunes with a round-the-clock. syndicated all-news package. News and Information Service, as the venture is called, originates from the old Monitor studio in Rockefeller Center and is fed live over telephone lines to subscribing stations for 50 minutes of every hour The other ten minutes are set aside for local news, but stations can devote up to 36 minutes to local programming if they choose to. When the service first

TODAY OLIVETTI



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opened its mouth at 6.06.30 a.m. last Wednesday, some 80 stations had signed up—from Tuscola's WITT to NBC's own FM station in New York City, newly renamed WHWS—for a monthly fee of from 5750 to \$15.000, depending on the size of the local market.

Last week's debut included irregularly spaced servings of national and international news from network correspondents, as well as book and movie reviews, interviews with Jerry Lewisa and pear Bately, features on natural child-birth and photography, and a two-part series on the war against cancer. Says NIS Director Roy Wetze, who designed the enter a radio news for more than and host effects of the way of the control of the

The universal applicability of that statement remains to be seen. All-news is a proven success in major cities, where there is enough compelling local news to fill much of that abundant air time. as well as enough interested listeners to care. But will all-news play in Tuscola?

Founder Gloria Steneen and SacramenBee Managing Editor Frank McCulloch, a former TiME bureau chief who
successfully launched the innovative
monthly Learning. Coppola did not like
what he heard. "Publishing is worse
than the movie business—the egos, the
feeling that you've stepped in somebody
else's terrain." he says. "I sensed a real
codines in Felcher, he was so unresponsible. Goorge Hirsch was friendly but
of
some of the didn't believe it was
some to worse."

Guest Editors. Small wonder Starting the kind of polished, expensive-ly produced weekly that Coppola wants would be difficult even in a metropolis like New York or Los Angeles, let alone a second-tier city like San Francisco (pop. 675,000). In addition. Coppola has drawn up a list of "guest editors" he

through street sales, and the press run is only about 50,000. The first issue contains a few modest surprises. The cover story is an investigative piece about a recent police raid on a local brothel. The issue also includes a letter from Fugitive Timothy Leary, but Coppola will disclose neither what it contains nor how City acquired it. The front part of the magazine is divided into departments on crime, business news. San Francisco history and other local topics. The middle part contains feature articles, and the back is devoted to entertainment listings. One of the issue's most notable traits is its squarish, Sunday-supplement size (11 in, by 13 in.). "I predict that Rolling Stone and New York will switch to our large, stapled format." Coppola says 'I predict a trend.

Coppola says he is committing \$1



THE GODFATHER OF SAN FRANCISCO'S CITY MAGAZINE SPINNING OFF AN IDEA Publishing is like making a movie every week.

Citizen Coppola

The scene looks like something out of The God/lather. A bearded Neapolitan and four unsmiling associates alight from a private jet, pile into a black limousine, and head for the office of a prominent editor. They take him for a ride to a local Italian restaurant, where much intense talk and spirited gestivulating ensue. A few hours later, the visitors fly off again in their plane.

Variations on that episode have been playing in a number of American cities in recent weeks, but the only real affinity to The Godfather is the fact that the don is played by Francis Ford Coppola, the movie's director. His traveling companions are new editors of City magazine, a San Francisco weekly that appears next week for the first time in a thoroughly renovated format. Coppola bought a \$15,000 piece of the fledgling magazine in 1973, picked up more last year, and had himself named publisher "It was my Viet Nam," he recalls. "Every month I put more into it. The stakes were getting so high that I felt I either had to get in or get out

New Recruits. He stayed in, but grew increasingly dissatisfied with City's predictable mixture of entertainment listings and windy anti-Establishment articles. He hired a succession of new editors, then grew dissatisfied with them too. Finally last month he suspended publication and fired the entire staff Since then, he has taken some new recruits-including Editor Michael Parrish, former managing director of the monthly San Francisco, and Consulting Editor Rosalie Muller Wright, former editor of women Sports-across the country to talk publishing with some successful pros. Among them have been New York magazine Editor Clay Felker, New Times Publisher George Hirsch, Ms. Co-

plans to invite to put out entire issues. Among them: San Francisco Symphony Orchestra Conductor Seiji Ozawa, Rock Singer Sly Stone, Patty Hearst's exfiance Stephen Weed and "an Italian fisherman."

Another Coppola idea is to hold the magazine's weekly closing in a theater and open the event to the public. Each into swould do their work onstage, and the public and the published as a special page of the magazine. Beyond all that, Coppola wants Ciry, home-delivered to us projected 100,000 subscriber on Shudays, the explains: "I think it he New York. Time to settle down with every Sunday morning."

At first, distribution will be mostly

million to the rebuilding of City, in addition to the \$500,000 he lost in its previous manifestation. He promises to keep the magazine going for a year and then reassess his commitment. "If it's a total turkey, I'll close it," he says. But for Coppola, who also owns a San Francisco theater. FM radio station and various other local enterprises and real estate, City is a reaffirmation of both his affection for San Francisco and his imaginative megalomania. "I don't know if all my ideas for City will work. but they're worth trying," he says. "In publishing, the margin of error is small, and people are frightened to try anything new, to tamper with the formula But I find the frequency of a magazine exciting. With a movie, the whole process is so slow. Publishing City is going to be like making a movie a week.



HELVI SIPILA JEHAN SADAT



ECHEVERRÍA & WALDHEIM ARRIVING AT WOMEN'S CONFERENCE



SEAH PARIN



Ms. v. Macho in Mexico

Standing stiffly on the flag-draped dais in Mexico City's Olympic Gymnasium was a small platoon of male bigwigs, including United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, Mexican President Luis Echeverria and various other officials. Down on the floor, masses of women draped in saris, ao-dais and other colorful garb listened more or less attentively as the men spoke. That strange beginning for a conference on women marked a meeting that is supposed to be the biggest of its kind in history-the centerpiece of the U.N.'s much-ballyhooed, much-disputed International Women's Year.

At a press conference earlier, a group of mostly female journalists fairly exploded at what they saw as the incongruity of the situation. A U.N. press officer announced that the conference president would be available for an interview after "he" was elected. "What do you mean 'he'?" the women protest-"Well, I mean person," stammered ed. the flustered officer. "O.K., let's call it 'it " Sure enough, "it" turned out to be a male: Pedro Ojeda, Mexico's Attorney General

Launching Pad. Some 1,044 U.N. delegates, most of whom were women, and 5,000 other assorted feminists and interested spectators poured into macho Mexico for what was billed by planners as "the world's largest consciousness-raising group." The consciousnessraisers present included one female Prime Minister, Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka, and about a dozen wives of national leaders, promptly dubbed "wifey-poos" by disdainful feminists. Among them: Jehan Sadat of Egypt. Nusrat Bhutto of Pakistan, Leah Rabin of Israel, and Imelda Marcos of the Philippines.

Those who made the trip found that attending the meetings was no easy matter. The official U.N. proceedings took place at the Foreign Ministry on the north side of the city. In the Medical Center five miles away was a separate U.N.-sponsored but nongovernmental Tribune"-a more free-wheeling forum set up for representatives of organizations ranging from the National Gay Task Force of the U.S. to the Federation of Cuban Women and another group called the Aboriginal Island Women Travel between the two sites involved a harrowing half-hour taxi trip through tangled traffic; many women complained that the conference planners had deliberately separated the meeting sites so as to keep radical feminists from upsetting the polite, official proceedings

THE SEXES

A major goal of the official conference is to draft a ten-year plan of action for member nations that will stress better health care and education for women and their increased participation in government. Yet global politics seemed to be the main preoccupation. at least at the outset. Mexico's President Echeverria opened the proceedings by calling for a redistribution of world wealth and political power to bring about a "new international order" The International Women's Year could not make good on its promise of peace, declared Mrs. Sadat, "while Arab lands remain occupied, while the Palestinians remain homeless." Russian Cosmonaut Valentina Tereshkova, head of the Soviet delegation, extolled her country to reporters as "the great exception as far as opportunity for women is concerned."

The Third World women hope to use Mexico City as a launching pad for feminist movements back home. They have some strong selling points. According to U.N. statisticians, 500 million of the world's 800 million illiterates are women, and 70% of all women live in underdeveloped countries, where most of them have no voting or property rights. Understandably, the Third World participants at Mexico City showed little interest in listening to

Western women discuss issues like equal pay for equal work and the need for adequate day-care centers. Sounding a grievance that Third World women hold against their Western sisters, Mrs. Marcos cautioned that feminists need not be "anti-male" to be pro-women

Western feminists have their own complaints about the U.N. extravaganza. Australian Author Germaine Greer (The Female Funuch) has denounced it as "an extension of Madison Avenue feminism" set up as if the objective were to have poor women farm workers "lay down their hoes and light up a Virginia Slim." Ms. Editor Gloria Steinem arrived in Mexico City with a similar complaint. The conference, she said, "could trivialize the women's movement. The very idea of the Year of the Woman becomes clear when we consider we don't have the Year of the Man

Little Gusto. The U.N. itself could hardly be accused of approaching the conference with gusto. Only \$2 million was allotted for Mexico City, compared with well over \$3 million for last year's World Population Conference in Bucharest Conceded Helvi Sipila, 60, a Finnish lawyer who is the U.N.'s secretarygeneral for the International Women's Year: "There has not been much enthusiasm for the year"-which is hardly surprising since the U.N. is a predominantly male organization. Women account for only 8% of the delegates to the current General Assembly Sipila and other women hope that

their numbers may some day be more impressive in the U.N. and elsewhere. The International Women's Year Conference, they believe, will further that aim. Still, as an Australian delegate. Elizabeth Reid, pointed out: "There are some amongst us who believe that this conference will achieve very little, others who are concerned that it will be unnecessarily politicized." At week's end both of those possibilities seemed to be altogether probable.

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WALLACE MUHAMMAD SPEAKING AT CHICAGO RALLY

White Muslims?

Since its birth during the Depression, the Nation of Islam, better known as the Black Muslims, has preached that whites were "devils" and "human beasts." Not any longer: from now on whites will be considered fully human

The movement's ideas about black separatism and supremacy gathered some momentum during the late 1960s But times change, and the Muslims' autocratic messiah, Elijah Muhammad. adopted a softer line before his death in February at 77. Last week, at a mass rally of 12,000 of the faithful at Chicago's McCormick Place, Elijah's son and successor, Wallace D. Muhammad. made it official: the race-hatred theme is being shelved. Whites will even be permitted to join the sect, though no rush of recruits is expected. Said Wallace "We have caught hell from the white man for 400 years, but we have grown to where if the white man respects us. we will respect him.

Brain Trust. Reporting on his first 100 days as leader. Wallace, 4.1, spoke for 3½; hours while protected by a phan and 100 days as leader to under-score the new tolerant line, the Musms had invited a host of white crive and church leaders to the rally, although the work of the control of t

Wallace announced plans to form a brain trust of Mustry to seek solutions to social ills, a scholarship program for high school youths, and a center to treat mental illness. He has also appointed the movement's first woman minister. While maintaining traditional Muslim secrecy about overall membership (estimated at between 50,000 and 100.-000, though higher figures are often used). Wallace revealed the dollar dimensions of Elijah's legacy: the Muslims have investments of \$14.5 million in Chicago property and \$6.2 million in farm land, while their stores, restaurants and other ventures pay \$1.5 million annually in taxes. These are substantial amounts, but be-

are in for some changes

low previous guesses.

Wallace Muhammad's
apprenticeship was uneasy
He quarreled with his father and twice dropped out

of the movement. Moreover, he does not have his father's compelling personal force. But so far, at least, he anpears to be holding off the fierce power struggle that had been widely expected to follow Elijah's passing Certainly. Muslim Spokesman Abdul Haleem (Louis) Farrakhan, the most charismatic figure in the movement today, is at pains to dispel rumors that he was moved from his potent Harlem base to the sect's Chicago headquarters so that Wallace could keep a closer eye on him. At last week's rally, Farrakhan was full of praise for the new messiah "No other man holds the key to divinity," he said. "There is no one wise enough to approach the shoelaces of Wallace D Muhammad

A Yes to Women

Three major branches of world Christendom have held out against ordaining women to full clergy rank Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy and Anglicanism. The Anglicans have been wrestling over the issue, however, and last week the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada (membership: 1 million) voted overwhelmingly to allow female priests. The breakthrough in Canada is bound to make waves in other provinces of the Anglican Communion, notably the U.S. Episcopal Church, which is deep in an emotionally charged debate over women priests and faces a decision on the matter at its convention next year

The Pulpit Squeeze

The U.S. Roman Catholic Church faces a shortage of new priests, and Jewish seminaries are just managing to catch up with the demand for rabbis Yet at many Protestant seminaries across the nation, this year's graduating seniors are finding that even though jobs are available, the clerical market is showing signs of softening. Not too long ago, many newly minted ministers could expect to pick and choose among "calls" from four or five churches. Now they are receiving fewer offers and having to campaign more aggressively even for what were once considered less desirable positions; assistantships or pastorates at small rural congregations. with salaries of, say, \$7,000 a year

At Manhattan's Union Theological Seminary, at least nine of the 63 graduates receiving the basic ministry degree are still looking for jobs, and those worker, had to do "a great deal more footwork" than their predecessors. Adds the Rev. Harry Adams, associate dean at the Yale Divinity School: the days are gone when seminarly semiors could and find someone to fund them.

First Decline. The supply of pulpits is becoming tight because, while seminary enrollments are holding steady. Protestant church membership is shrinking. The latest edition of the authoritative Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches reports that U.S. membership in religious bodies slipped last year to 131,245,139. Though the decline was slight (about 180,000), it was the first that the Yearhook has recorded in nearly three decades, and reflected eroding membership in the mainstream liberal Protestant denominations: the United Methodists. Episcopalians, United Presbyterians, the United Church of Christ and the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). In such groups, jobs are lacking not so much for new graduates as for mid-career preachers seeking better churches

Not all aspiring Protestant ministers are hurting for jobs. Evangelistic, Bibleoriented denominations like the Southern Baptists are still growing steadily. In more liberal denominations, with their tighter job market, congregations are hiring a different sort of pastor. Too many churches, says the Rev. George Hunter of the Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge, Mass., "got burned during the '60s by angry young men," and hire graduates who want to perform in the pulpit rather than in the streets When a congregation offers a "call" nowadays, notes the Rev. Vinton Bradshaw of the Christian Theological Seminary in Indianapolis, the message is that "they do not want a social activist."

A Classic Case of Fixing

In 1971, when Lewis and Ruth Goldfarb wanted to buy a new \$54,500 house in a development in Fairfax County, Va., they needed to have a title search done by a lawyer. Since the title had been searched less than a year before by the developer, the new check involved no more than a few hours of work, but every lawyer who replied to the Goldfarbs' inquiries (20 in all) said the job would cost more than \$500 -based on the minimum rate fixed by the local bar's fee schedule. Goldfarb decided to sue. Last week the Supreme Court agreed with him that the titlesearch fee schedule was "a classic illustration of price fixing."

Brushing aside the Fairfax County bar's contention that its price list was merely advisory, Chief Justice Warren Burger found that "the fee schedule was enforced through the prospect of professional discipline from the state has [A] naked agreement was clearly shown and the effect on prices is plain." Such naked agreements were long common in bar associations: 34 states once had some kind of minimum fee schedule covering legal services. But in recent years the number has dropped to 18, as lawvers began to worry that they might indeed be subject to antitrust laws. The traditional theory was that antitrust regulation did not cover the "learned professions." If that were so, said Burger last week. "lawyers would be able to adopt anticompetitive practices with impunity." Conceding that some "forms of competition usual in the business world may be demoralizing to the ethical standards of a profession." Burger nonetheless held that where title searches and the like are concerned, "the exchange of such a service for money is 'commerce' in the most common usage of that

Vain Effort. The court's unanimous decision did not specifically apply to all legal fees, much less to fees charged in other professions: but the implications are strong. "The decision shows that all professions are subject to the antitrust laws," exulted Alan Morrison, a director of Ralph Nader's Public Citizen, who argued the Goldfarbs' case. "Doctors. lawyers, accountants, engineers-all must now recognize that when they do business in the community, they'll be looked on as businessmen. It means lower prices and more competition." Indeed in Virginia, in a vain effort to head off the court's decision, the county bar dropped its schedule last winter, and the average title-search fee paid to lawyers has already fallen by about one-third

The court also decided by a 7-to-2 vote to reverse the misdemeanor conviction of a Virginia newspaper editor who was fined \$500 for printing an ad in 1971 that described abortion services available in New York City. While agreeing that advertising "may be subject to reasonable regulation," the court bade abortions, the ad provided citizens with valuable information protected by the First Amendment. The decision also included a minor legal gaffe, unexpected from the court. Cited in support of the ruling was the court's decision on whether Jacksonville. Fla., may ban sex movies at drive-in theaters-but the court has yet to announce its Jacksonville decision, and the reference did not make clear which way the court is planning to rule when it actually does hand down its opinion, probably in the next week

Justice v. Justice

Is "national security" a legitimate legal defense against charges of criminal activity? Last week, in two different cases, the Justice Department was answering yes and no

One case involves John Ehrlichman and three White House plumbers who are appealing their conviction for the break-in at the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. During the trial, the judge refused to allow national security to be used as a defense: but in the appeal argued last week. Ehrlichman et al. renewed their claim that Ellsberg was regarded as a threat to national security. since the White House did not know whether he had stolen other secrets besides the Pentagon papers. The Justice Department, urging that the convictions be upheld, contends that the break-in was plainly illegal and cannot be justified by national security claims.

Ehrlichman's lawyers are vigorously citing another case in the D.C. court of appeals. In that one, the FBI, with approval by then Attorney General John Mitchell, bugged the headquarters of the Jewish Defense League in New York City. New York Attorney Bertram Zweibon, a former J.D.L. member, and others sued Mitchell and the FBI for damages. At the time its offices were bugged, the J.D.L. was harassing Soviet diplomats in the U.S. as part of its efforts on behalf of Soviet Jews. The league lost its case at the trial when the judge agreed with the Justice Department that the bugging was "a proper exercise of the President's constitutional authority to conduct the nation's foreign relations and his power to protect the national

The same judges are sitting in both cases, and a Justice Department official with a lawyer's infinite capacity to slice fine, claims that the two cases are really entirely different. On the one hand. it is not claimed that the President had specifically ordered the Ellsberg breakin: and if he had, standard law-enforcement procedure would have been to go through the Attorney General. On the other hand, the FBI was given authority for the J.D.L. bugging by the Attorney General, who has repeatedly claimed the right to act without a court order in national security cases involving foreign powers. How the judges will react to the asserted distinctions remains to be seen







Refugee Medics

When they arrived with their wises and children in Sutherland, Neb. last month, neither Pham Tuong Do nor Tran Van Khang was surprised by the obvious differences between the tiny topp 840 corn-country community and their native Can Tho. exon largest city in South Yet Nam. But they were overnames refugees have been greated in the U.S with open hostility Pham. Tran and their families were welcomed warmly, and with good reason. Suther-

VIETNAMES DOCIDE AT CAMP PRIDUITOR

Easier entry into U.S. society.

land, which is 20 miles from the nearest hospital. has been without a doctor since the town's lone physician quit three years ago. When its citizens learned that Pham. 40. and Tran. 37, who are both physicians, were willing to settle there, they went out of their way to make them feel at home.

Eusing Entry, Some Lownspeople reopened Sutherland's long-shuttered 20-bed hospital and fixed it up as living quarters for the two families. Others donated furniture, kitchen utensils, television sets and children's toys and bicy-cles. All did their best to make the Vietnamese feel at home. "We are lucky to be here." Tran's wife told her new neighbors. "No." replied Mrs. Sandy Meissner, wife of Sutherland's mayor. "we are fucky to have you."

Pham and Tran are not the only Victnamese refugees who are likely to find their entry into U.S. society eased by their professions. Some 300 of South Viet Nam's 1,500 physicians, including the entire staff of the Saigon University School of Medicine, have turned up in California's Camp Pendleton and other refugee centers. So have at least 60 dentists and a number of pharmacists and nurses. Many are getting a head start on resettlement because of their backgrounds.

A score of doctor-short communities in Nebraska besides Sutherland have recruited Vietnamese physicians, who are unpacking their bags in rural towns with names like Ponca, Weeping Water and Loup City. The Federal Government

ng The Pederal Government plans to settle some Victnamese general practitioners on Indian reservations. American physicians have begun heeding an appeal by the American Medical Association to take on refugees as assistants. One Chapel Hill, N.C., physician hired Saigon Pediatrician Nhieu Phan Van sight unseen.

The warmth of their welcome will certainly reassure Vietnamese doctors about their new homeland. But the refugees must still surmount some major obstacles before they can practice their profession. Like other foreign-trained physicians -who now constitute more than one-fifth of the 300 000 doctors practicing in the U.S. -the Vietnamese must pass the stiff requirements of the Educational Council for Foreign Medical Graduates (FCFMG), which tests both their command of English and knowledge of clinical medicine. Last winter only

7,000 of the 19,000 foreign doctors who took the exams managed to pass. Those who get by the ECIMG must then take the Federation Licensure Examination (FLEN), which is recognized by 48 states. In many cases, the doctors must also complete a 12-month hospital tour before meeting local licensing requirements.

ing requirements. These tests present a formidable challenge to the Victnamese Often fluctuation of the Victnamese Often fluctuation of the Victnamese Often fluctuation of the Victnamese of th

To learn U.S. methods, most Viet-

Study Support, Some refugee medics expect to do a year of studying before they even take the ECFMG test. Even the most optimistic refugees estimate that it will be a year before they are able to practice on their own. Yet their professional prognosis is good. The Vietnamese doctors have already been made more welcome than the long neglected Cuban physicians who flooded into the U.S. in the years following Fidel Castro's takeover in Havana. Many exiled Cuban physicians worked as waiters and cab drivers while they mastered English and American medicine, but most Vietnamese will be free to concentrate on their books. In return for their promise to practice in the community at least two years. Sutherland and other towns that have recruited the refugees have agreed to support them until they get their licenses

The Artificial Joint

Of all the body's joints, the ankle is one of the most complex. It is an intricate hinge that not only supports the weight of the entire body but allows the foot to rotate and tilt through a range of angles. Doctors have learned to replace diseased or injured finger joints. hips, shoulders and knees with effective, man-made spares. But they have had only limited success with artificial ankles. In many cases the best they could do was to put in a hinge that allowed the foot to move only up or down. The accepted treatment for most patients with badly damaged ankles has been to fuse the bones, an operation that locks the ankle and radically reduces mobility. Now there is additional hope for patients whose ankles might otherwise have to be immobilized. A California physician has improved on earlier models by designing an artificial ankle joint that closely duplicates the action of the original

No Pain. Developed by Dr. Theodore Waugh. 48, an orthopedic surgeon at the University of California at Irvine (U.C.I.), the new joint is a two-piece arrangement that weighs only five ounces. One part of Waugh's "U.C.I. ankle" is an inverted T made of a chromium and cobatt alloy with a concave tip. The

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other part is an alloy half dome In an operation that takes a halfhour. Waugh makes an incision in the front of the ankle, saws off the top of the talus, or anklebone, and cuts a wedge-shaped opening in the bottom of the tibia, the larger of the two lower legbones. He then inserts the metal into the tibia and fastens the dome to the talus. Each part is held in place with a special bone cement. The tension of the leg and ankle tendons holds the joint together and keeps the T in contact with -but able to move on-the dome Most of the three dozen patients who have received the U.C.I. ankle (Waugh performed 15 of the operations himself) were up and walking on crutches five days after surgery, many were walking unaided less than one month later. Most experienced no pain except from the op-

eration itself

Hole in One. Waugh, who also developed an effective artificial knee joint three years ago, is currently working on a smaller version of the U.C.I. ankle for children. He will soon leave for Sweden to teach other surgeons his ankle-replacement technique, which may prove particularly valuable for dealing with severe arthritis. Says he: "One of the good things about this operation is that any competent orthopedic surgeon can do it without much problem. It should bring tremendous relief to thousands of crippled persons." Waugh's patients share his enthusiasm for the ankle, which costs \$375, plus the cost of the operation. Ben Lujan, 35, a Los Angeles insurance salesman whose right ankle was immobilized after four operations to correct an old athletic injury, thought he would have to give up sports before he underwent an implant operation. "Letting Waugh put in the ankle was the best decision I ever made," he says. Lujan has reason to be enthusiastic. Two months after surgery, he was back walking a golf course He also made his first hole in one

From Killer to King

Four years ago. Don King was inmate No. 6178 at the Marion (Ohio) Correctional Institution. He spent his days in the prison work gang hauling hog manure as he served a one-to-20year manslaughter sentence for having killed a numbers racketeer who had doublecrossed him. Released in September 1971 after four years in jail, he now rides to work in a chauffeured 21-ft. Cadillac Imousine. For that work he rents a choice office suite: the \$85,000-a-year, eight-room penthouse atop the RCA Building in Rockefeller Center. That evrie high above Manhattan is symbolic of King's position as the most audacious and suddenly the most powerful promoter in sport-and one of the most successful black businessmen in America

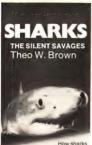
His business is boxing. In less than two years. King has put together four heavyweight championship bouts, including the \$10 million George Foreman v. Muhammad Ali extravaganza in Zaïre last fall. Next Monday he will add a fifth when Ali fights European Champion Joe Bugner in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, the climax of a closed-circuit tripleheader that will also include lightheavyweight and middleweight title fights in New York City. In the fall King hopes to cap his promotions with a \$12 million Ali-Joe Frazier rematch, probably in the Philippines. That would bring the total take of King ring deals to more than \$30 million. "He's done impossible things," says Ali. Adds King in his booming baritone: "Right now my success is phenomenal."

King, 43, is also a phenomenon. An almost larger than life figure at 6 ft. 2 in., with a barrel chest and an Afro that leaps from his temples as if galvanized. he works at a pace that would exhaust most men. His 18-hour days and hundreds of phone calls a week have helped him outflank such established matchmakers as Madison Square Garden and Top Rank, Inc., a longtime promoter and closed-circuit telecaster of Ali fights Of course he has not been hurt by the cooperation of Ali and his manager, Black Muslim Executive Herbert Muhammad. who are happy to break old traditions and deal with a black promoter

Jet Log. King's greatest asset is a flair for thinking-and acting-big With Ali demanding prize money beyond the means of individuals or even corporations. King has made his deals with governments. Shrewd enough to realize that championship bouts featuring Ali are the kind of promotion that developing nations like to stage. King has courted heads of state in Cairo. Tehran. Lusaka (Zambia). Manila and Kuala Lumpur. "The jet lag is so bad," he says. Leat breakfast 24 hours a day

Wherever he is and whatever he is eating, King comes on like a force of nature. With a mixture of grandiloquent rhetoric ("I cannot be castigated by accusation and invective") and live ("I like to make deals that give me my money and my honey at the same time"), King loves to hold forth on anything from capitalism to existentialism. Over his desk he keeps an incongruous pair of portraits: an original of Ali by LeRoy Neiman and a print of Rembrandt's Aris-





behave, and how man might control themthis is the subject of a spellbinding new book by a veteran diver and researcher, "a rare man seeking to unravel and conquer a frightening corner of nature."-Library Journal. Illustrated, \$7.95.

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SPORT

totle contemplating the Bust of Homer "Jail was my school," says King, "I came out armed and dangerous. Armed with wisdom and knowledge. I read Aristotle and Homer. I got into Sigmund Freud. That almost blew my mind. I've been taught by Hegel, Kant, Gibran, Fanon and Samuelson. Man, I love Bill

Shakespeare. He was some bad dude. Making Movies. When paroled. though, King headed home to Cleveland, where he had reigned as numbers baron. "Most people would rather deposit with me than the Federal Reserve," he says of his days in the policy game. Not long after his return to Cleveland, he helped promote a charity boxing exhibition, and was soon putting together fights of his own. King's first bigtime bout as promoter was Foreman's championship defense against Ken Norton in Caracas in March 1974. Even before that fight took place. King was busy bidding for and eventually tying up the Foreman-Ali showdown. Ali has fought for no other promoter since

Where does he go from here? King recognizes that once Ali retires or loses. much of the million-dollar glamour of boxing will fade. To avoid fading with it, he is expanding into producing records, representing pro athletes and making movies. With financial backing from Arab contacts, he has even made a bid to buy Madison Square Garden. "One day I will realize I can't make every deal. That day," he intones, "has not come."

A \$4.5 Million Gamble

In Brazil he was considered so valuable that the government once forbade him to play for a foreign team. In Africa, he was so imposing a legend that a cease-fire was called during the Biafran war so that both sides could watch him perform. But in the U.S., where the game of soccer has been played more for kicks than major-league cash, he is something of an anomaly. So Edson Arantes do Nascimento, known almost everywhere as Pelé, made his debut last week for the New York Cosmos, seeking by his message to establish American credibility for his medium

By all reasonable standards, his performance was a triumph. With his team down 2-0 to the Dallas Tornado at the beginning of the second half. Pelé set up a goal with a pinpoint pass to teammate Mordechai Shpigler. Then he scored the tying goal by deflecting a Shpigler kick past Tornado Goalkeeper Ken Cooper with a dest flick of his head

In 1974 he had announced his retirement from soccer and had settled down to tend to the investments he had accrued in his 18-year playing career for Santos of Brazil. They were substantial because his salary from Santos eventually reached \$400,000 a year plus \$8,000 a game for each of the approximately 30 exhibitions scheduled in a season With endorsements, his income at one point was estimated at \$2 million a year



PELÉ SCORING FOR COSMOS Problems to overcome.

The Cosmos, with the blessing of the Brazilian government, were able to lure the 34-year-old star back to the soccer pitch by offering him an estimated \$4.5 million for three years. That sum is about twice the annual payrolls of all 20 teams in the North American Soccer League

It is an investment that the Cosmos and the rest of the N.A.S.I. think well worth making. Soccer is attracting growing support in the U.S., with thousands of high schools and more than 700 colleges now fielding teams. Attendance at professional games has also grown steadily. On opening day this spring, the San Jose Earthquakes attracted 18,000 fans, more than either the World Series champion Oakland Athletics or the San Francisco Giants drew for their season openers

There are substantial problems for Pelé and his sport to overcome. The game lacks the orchestrated tactics of football, the rapid-fire scoring of hasketball and the internal rhythm of baseball. More important, it suffers from the fact that the majority of Americans do not comprehend and appreciate the game's nuances. But Americans are rapidly learning to appreciate Pelé. In his second game, the superstar drew a capacity crowd of 22,500 to New York City's bush-league Downing Stadium to see the Cosmos beat the Toronto Metros, 2-0. In Boston, at week's end. Pele's supporters proved to be too enthusiastic While the Cosmos were playing a 1-1 tie with the Boston Minutemen, a swarm of fans rushed onto the field and knocked their idol down. This excessive outpouring of affection caused a leg injury, said to be minor, to the man who might become the savior of American soccer



ECONOMY & BUSINESS

ENERGY

Still the Most Nagging Headache

Despite a lack of public auxiety, demonstrated by the suttine of the oil conservation bill that finally passed the House last week, energy continues to built, large in headthnes in the U.S. and abroad. It remains the industrial world's most anguing long-rance conomic headthness Last week Peredant Ford moved to increase the productions of packets and the final celebrated the start of oil production under the production of the production of the start of oil production under the production of the production of the start of oil production under writes of the 13 members of the Organization of Perceloum Exporting Countries will remain a severe and highly unsettling problem for the rest of the world throughout the 1978. Devolution

End of a Monopoly?

Ever since the beginning of the nuclear age, the U.S. Government has had a monopoly on the domestic manufacture of basic atomic fuel: enriched uranium.* But the Government's three enrichment plants at Oak Ridge, Tenn. Paducah, Ky., and Portsmouth, Ohio cannot keep pace with the demands of proliferating nuclear power plants: the output of enriched uranium has been booked for the next 25 years. If the U.S. is not to lose the lion's share of the lucrative nuclear-fuel market to foreign newcomers-the U.S.S.R., France and others-the Federal Government must either build at least ten more enrichment plants or encourage private industry to do the job. Last week President Ford decided to ask Congress to give permission for private companies to produce and sell nuclear fuel

Ford had in mind both ideology and

Natural uransum comes out of the ground with a 7% content of U-235, an easily insignable material Enrichment for fuel involves increasing the proportion of U-235 to about 3%, for nuclear weap ons the material must be enriched to 90% or more

costs. By the year 2000, perhaps 50% of the nation's electricity will be generated by atomic reactors, up from 5% today Free-Marketeer Ford clearly does not want the Federal Government to retain a strangle hold over so great a portion of energy supplies. Moreover, to build ten new enrichment plants by 1990 would require a capital investment of about \$30 billion. The President believes the Government has better uses for its money, especially since private industry wants to get into the nuclear-fuel business. Bechtel Corp. and Goodyear have already proposed one plant, and several other companies, including Exxon. Arco Electronucleonics and Garrett Research, have indicated interest in building others. As an important side benefit, federal experts say, private companies can compete abroad for nuclear contracts more effectively than the Government

Still, the legislation will have to be carefully designed if it is to get through Congress. Ford will first have to satisfy critics who fear that private industry might be lax about safety and security procedures in manufacturing and ship-



CHECKING URANIUM SOLUTION IN WYOMING A new role for private enterprise?

ping the fissionable materials. But the situation is not quite as worrisome as it sounds. To use nuclear fleel in bombs would involve almost impossible effort and expense. Also, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which closely supervises all processes and shipments will apply the same tough security and safety regulations to all future plants

Money is much more of a problem. The Government has underwriten research and development to date, and Congress will linss that it be reimbursed for its past expenses. Thus private companies will probably be charged a 3° royalty on sales for use of the still high-y classified technology. What bothers some Congressmen much more is defining how far the Government should



Priming the Pump

The black gold at the end of Britain's rainbow began flowing ashore from the North Sea for the first time last week The victory over wind, sleet, 100-ft waves and British muddle came on the 160th anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, and it sent Energy Secretary Anthony Wedgwood Benn into a fit of hyperbole as he opened the first valve on the Isle of Grain. Benn held aloft a souvenir bottle of the crude and announced to an assembly that included U.S. Ambassador Elliot Richardson: "This is much more significant and historic than the moon shot, which only brought back soil and rock.

In one way, Benn's analogy was not altogether far-fetched. The technology of North Sea production is indeed impressive. But the prospective financial guarantee a private company's investment in enrichment plants. Says Joint Atomic Energy Committee Chairman Senator John Pastore: "If private enterprise comes in, private enterprise has to share the risk." Exactly how much risk private companies will finally assume must be worked out by the Administration and Congress.

The Cold Light of Levy

In a mood perhaps too wishful, some top bankers have insisted lately that the OPFC oil carfel's domineering note in the world economy would soon diminish But last week Walter Levy, dean of U.S oil experts, punctured that optimisms. In a closely argued study, he contends that OPFC's balance of payments surpluses—and high prices—will continue dispersion of the property of the prope

through the early 1980s Recent analyses by New York's First National City Bank. Chase Manhattan and Morgan Guaranty Trust suggest that OPEC's trade surpluses will peak around 1978 and actually swing to a deficit, perhaps of \$56 billion (Morgan Guaranty's figure), by 1980. But Levy, one of the most widely respected private U.S. oil consultants, estimates that by 1980 the 13 OPEC countries will still be pulling \$50 billion a year more in oil revenues out of the rest of the world than they return through purchases of goods and services. By then their accumulated surpluses of foreign liquid assets will amount to a staggering \$450 billion.

etarysystem
Levy does not believe the OPEC
countries can increase their imports as
rapidly as the banks assume. Morgan
Guaranty predicts the OPEC countries
imports will grow by 20% a year. Levy
concedes that OPEC imports rose even
more than that last year, but doubts the
oil countries can keep up the pace. The

which could unbalance the world mon-

benefits are hardly enough to send Britons into orbit. The nation last year suffered a 59 billion payments deficit; production from the small Argyll field off the east costs of Scotland—the first tapped—will lighten that load by one \$140 million annually. The Argyll field and three others to be opened this year will supply a bare 2% of Britain's oil

Hopes are that by 1981 North Sea production will make Britisn self-sufficient and by 1990 the nation will be one of the world's top seven oil producers. Trouble is, the country has already in effect mortgaged much of its eventual oil income by borrowing abroad to mainta today's living standards. A big slice of the oil money will be swallowed by resyment of foreign borrowings, which last year equaled a startling 5% of Britain's gross national product



Puncturing optimism.

thinly populated Arab states lack the expertise; labor, port facilities and infair transportation network necessary to handle that big a tide of foreign goods in addition, many of last year's imports were fighter; plate, we take an official are questions of how much longer the Western nations will continue selling so much damperous gear

sometime that the oil exporters will raise prices steadily, perhaps by as much as 12% this year and 7% annually thereafter. By 1980 he expect has he will be seen for the period of the per bell. v \$10.46 now. Even for prices drop temporarity, he contends the cline would fuel a boom in the houstrial world, this in turn would lead to trial world, this in turn would lead to 1982 on the period of the period of the 1982 of the period of the period of the 1982 of the period of the period of the 1982 of the period of the period of the 1982 of the period of the period of the 1982 of the period of the period of the 1982 of the period of the period of the 1982 of the period of the period of the 1982 of the period of the period of the 1982 of the period of the period of the 1982 of the period of the period of the 1982 of the period of the period of the period of the 1982 of the period of the period of the period of the 1982 of the period of the period of the period of the period of the 1982 of the period of the per

Coldly Realistic. In sum, Levy persuasively reasons that paying for oil will continue to be a burden, heavy even for the industrial states and crushing for the many poor countries that do not possess oil. He fears that attempts by each nation to cure its own deficit could lead to "a mushrooming of new barriers to trade" that oil importers would erect. not against OPEC but against each other. In his coldly realistic report, Levy predicts it will take at least three or four more years than the banks anticipate -or roughly until 1983-84-before the problem begins to diminish. Meanwhile. his latest analysis suggests no way out of the box. But he has previously voiced hope that a united front of oil importers could convince OPEC that it is not even in the cartel's own long-run best interest to bankrupt its customers for the sake of carning high revenues that the oil countries cannot profitably use

OUTLOOK

Housing: A Bit Better

Housing is one of the keys to the U.S economy, because its fortunes affect the sales of lumber, steel. furniture appliances and many other products For the past two years, it also has been just about the sickest of all American industries. Last week it finally began flashing signals of a recovery, albeit a modest, slow and uneven one

In May the number of housing stars, soce 14% from April. to an annual rate of 1,126,000. That was the first significant upturn after a shocking plunge From an annual rate of about 2.4 million in 1972. housing starts had noscived to a yearly pace of only 880,000 by last December in the first four months of 1975, starts stayed flat at a but below I million Carla Hills, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, said that the May figures "seem

to indicate that a recovery is under way. Checkered Uptorn. Building experts quickly added: Not much of a recovery. The May arte, though the highest in eight months, was the lowest for any May in 28 years. In addition, and the pattern of the uptorn is highly checkred. Single-family home construction is picking up on the Pacific Coast and week, at least, the market for apartment buildings remains slack. In the South the recovery has not been feld at all

Still, some upturn is better than no upturn: housing is at least ceasing to be



HUD SECRETARY CARLA HILLS Flashing recovery signals.

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

a drag on the national economy. The budding upturn will probably reinforce President Ford's determination to veto this week an "emergency" housing bill passed by Congress two weeks ago. The bill was designed to encourage the building of 400,000 new houses mainly by providing mortgage subsidies to middle-providing mortgage subsidies to middle-you have bugers. But it probably wouldn't have bugers. But it probably wouldn't be supposed to the providing mortgage subsidies to middle-providing subsidies and the subsidies of th

Lofty Rates. Economists expect housing starts to increase to an annual rate of about 1.4 million by year's end. Mortgage money is now plentiful, and the national average interest rate on single-family home loans inched down in May for the fifth consecutive month, to 8.9%, from 8.96% in April. But in many areas, notably the Southeast and the West Coast, the rate hovers above 9% and is not likely to drop much as long as interest rates on competing investments, like corporate bonds, stay high. Hence prospective home buyers have little reason to wait, since prices are sure to rise and interest rates to remain lofty

Other economic indicators released last week showed a similar mixed and hesitant pattern. Industrial production continued to fall in May for the eighth consecutive month. But the rate of deline—only 3%—was the same low figure as in April, suggesting that the result of the same shown of the same show

The battle against inflation also continues to progress well. Despite markedly higher meat and gasoline costs, the consumer price index, showed only a slight. 4% increase in May, holding the samual inflation rate to a manageable 4.8%. The combination of higher perconsultancement and a moderate rate of insonal income and a moderate rate of income and in the continue of the continue of the continue of the continue which will be the major factor in lifeting, which will be the major factor in lifeting the economy in the months after in the continue of th

SCANDALS

Dirty Grain

Corn should stand knee-high in most Midwest fields by July 4. Instead of rejoicing, though, farmers are nervously wondering whether they will be able to find markets for all the corn and grain from the huge harvests expected this year. Normally, 25% of all U.S. grain is exported to foreign buyers, who pay about \$10 billion a year. Now that giant market is being threatened by a scandal involving: 1) bribery and fraud in federally licensed grain-inspection procedures, 2) suspected skimming of grain off export cargoes by the operators of grain elevators, and 3) laxity by the Department of Agriculture in fulfilling its obligation to ensure the quality of U.S. grain shipments.

The scandal is making foreign buyers wary of U.S. grain and with good reason: they have been getting many shipments that are short-weighted, composed partly of inferior-quality and broken grain, or contaminated by dirt or moisture. Last week a delegation of European grain company officials were in Washington to press similar complaints. American farmers and dealers alike are angry and anxious for an end to the problems. "We produce a good, clean product," one Iowa soybean grower told that state's Democratic Senator Richard Clark. "I'll be damned if we're going to let petty bribery, sloppy work and greedy exporters throw it down the

Farmers can do little, however, because most of the abuses occur far from the country elevators where they sell their crops. Grain is not officially inspected until it reaches New Orleans. Houston or other ports. There inspectors employed by private agencies but licensed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture grade the grain and also certify that ships are clean enough to carry it in their holds. Altogether, USDA has licensed about 3,000 inspectors, who earn an average salary of \$10,000 a year; their relatively modest incomes are often supplemented by overtime wages and seasonal bonuses. Since loading delays can cost shipowners up to \$20,000 a day, it is often more economical to bribe inspectors to approve their ships than take the time to clean the vessels. Similarly, grain companies lacking required amounts of a particular grade may be tempted to substitute lower-quality grain and offer bribes to inspectors to grade it

The Departments of Agriculture and Justice are investigating violations of this sort in most major U.S. ports. During the past year, grand juries in Texas and Louisiana have handed down 18 in-







LOADING GRAIN FOR SHIPMENT TO CHILE Bribery is cheaper than cleanliness.

dictments, most of them against inspectors; five have pleaded guilty to accepting bribes in exchange for certifying unfit ships or deliberately misgrading grain.

No one expects the scandal to stop there. Operators of grain elevators are suspected of holding back some grain destined for export, selling it to domestic buyers, and covering the shortages by dumping lower grades, broken kernels or rye into the grain shipments bound for foreigners.

Rodent Enriched. The Department of Agriculture has much to answer for According to a report written by the department's Office of Audit in 1973 and made public last week, the department's Grain Division once held back a plan to determine uniformity in export shiploads because of the objections of a single trade organization, whose members included large exporting companies. In addition, the report said grain inspectors often failed to notify the Food and Drug Administration of "deleterious substances" in grain destined for human consumption. Among them: poisonous mercury-treated kernels, rodent excreta and insect-damaged kernels. The report further charged that elevator operators were allowed to blend as much as 10% off-grade grain into a cargo bound for a foreign country

Last week a Senate subcommittee heard a plea by Agriculture Under Secretary J. Phil Campbell that Congress put off action until his department worked out a reform plan for the grain trade. But several lawmakers have already proposed remedies. Iowa's Clarka among others, has called for created as semi-independent grain-inspection as semi-independent grain-inspection methods and the semi-independent grain-inspection methods are semi-independent grain-inspection methods are semi-independent grain-inspection of semi-independent grain-inspection of semi-independent grain-inspection or administrative indifference.



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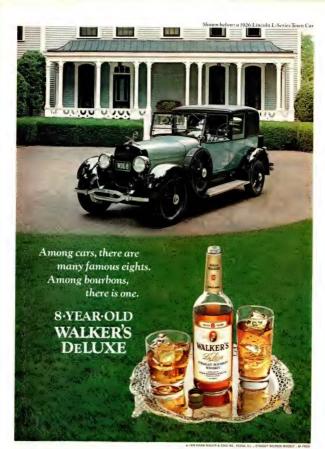
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WALL STREET

New Money Again

Resides hammering, share prices down the receision almost destroyed the original and highly essential function of the stock market: that of enabling companies to raise capital. As the Dow Jones industrial average tumbled to a twelve-year low of 578 last December, investor so confidence was so shaken that hardly any companies could hope to traine money by selling newly issued stocks. Now, with the Dow back to 558 statem rising. American companies in search of funds are once more finding a market for new shares.

Indeed, in this year's first four months, companier raised \$2.3 billion by selling new issues of common stock, nearly as much as the \$2.6 billion such sales yielded during all of last year Hough the 1975 rate is still far from 1972's record \$13 billion pace, the strengthening of the equity marketis as nencouraging development that could adminiment to the economic recovery. Companies no longer nead rely selection of the source for expansion cannot all this development in turn could help relieve the danger of a capital shortage.

Unhealthy Debt. The change could not come too soon for many U.S. companies that have become overburdened with debt. A typical example is like to Oil Tools. Inc., a Los Angeles-based whose debt last year rose to an unbealthily high 70% of the firm's entire capital systems by selling \$3.24 million in stock in April. Baker reduced its debt-cequity ratiots of a more confinement with the debt of the firm's service and a more confinement with the first high \$5 of ar, enameric confinement with the first high \$5 of ar, ensuccessful in selling new stock. Bitners.

EK<u>8T LLCP GRA HTC8P FNC8M BCC G08P WG08M G</u>
2½ 100¼ 5% 6½ 4% 7 20 3% 5%

NEW TAPE SHOWING TRADES (MARKED) NOT MADE ON THE NEW YORK EXCHANGE
At a glance, broker and investor can see where the price is right.

lective. Two weeks ago, when an underwriting syndicate headed by Merriil Lynch brought out a \$31 million stock offering for a small Massachusetts minicomputer maker named Data General, response was so poor that Merrill Lynch had to cut the price on the issue after one day, causing losses for many of the underwriters involved

Time to Shop Around

The resival of the new-issue market has spread less cheer on Wall Street than might have been expected, because it comes while brokers and exchanges are sarragging to adjust to far-reaching exchange. Commission The changes aim at forcing more competition among brokers and breaking the dominance of the New York Stock Exchange over the mation's securities trading, in part by totally abolishing the Big Board's ancient on stock transactions.

Since the last vestiges of the fixedcommission system vanished by srt order on May 1, a vicious rate-cutting war has erupted among brokers. On many trades big institutional investors mutual funds, pension funds, insurance companies, bank trust departments lare paying commissions 20% to 60% lower paying commissions 20% to 60% lower paying commissions 20% to 60% lower ting on that scale, if continued, could force some waker brokerages into bankruptcy or emergency mergers with stronger investment houses So far the small investor has not

So far the small investor has not profited at all from the price war. In fact, some brokerage houses have set a new \$25 minimum fee per trade, and most have raised charges to private investors 2% to 8%. There are some signs. however, that the fee trimming ultimately may spread to individual investors Last week the small Wall Street house of Quick & Reilly, Inc. began cutting commissions as much as 40% (though it still charges a \$25 minimum), and some other brokerages are offering complicated discounts on the second step of two-stage buy-and-sell deals. Hence the individual investor has new incentive to

Right Price. A less controversial reform went into effect last week, when the SEC-suggested Consolidated Tape network began operation. The tape carries quotations for all 2,000 issues traded on the New York Stock Exchange. but in addition to prices on the Big Board itself, it records prices for the same stocks in six other markets. For each trade effected off the Big Board, the an ampersand and a letter for the market involved: M for the Midwest Stock Exchange, P for the Pacific Coast Stock Exchange, X for the PBW (Philadelphia-Baltimore-Washington) Exchange. C for the Cincinnati Stock Exchange, T for trades executed by member brokers of the National Association of Securities Dealers and not put through any exchange. O for the Instinct system. in which institutional investors trade among themselves with no brokers involved. At a glance, brokers and investors alike can now see which market is posting the best quotation for a particular stock and steer their business where the price is right

MEETING OF UNDERWRITERS TO PLAN A NEW STOCK ISSUE



AIRLINES

Sadder Bud Wiser

Between the two major Americanlag international airlines, the manifold woes of Pan American have captured most attention. But last week it became evident that Trans World Airlines is also in bad trouble. TWA announced that its losses have gone up, up and away its deficit topped 1975—a record in the deficit topped 1975—a record in exactly double the loss during the same period a year ago. Simultaneously, Press-



FORMER TWA PRESIDENT WISER Losses up, up and away.

ident Forwood C. Wiser Jr.—nicknamed "Bud" by some associates and "Forward Charge" (because of his initials) by employees—quit, along with Marketing Vice President Blaine Cooke.

Neither man could fairly be blamed for all, or even most of TWA's problems, but both evidently suffered increasing frustration trying to deal with them. Caught without sufficient longterm fuel contracts. TWA has been forced to pay more than competitors United and American for kerosene to operate its fleet of 230 jets. Early this year, in a swap with Pan Am, TWA surrendered all of its Pacific routes in return for a handful of new routes to Southern Europe, two of which (to Nice and Barcelona) TWA has so far elected not to fly. Meanwhile, the recession has reduced the number of filled seats on the airline's flights so far this year to a disappointing 47%

Morale Crisis. TWA's troubles began reaching the acute stage in November 1973, when 5,200 flight attendants struck, mainly for higher pay, and management stubbornly took a six-week walkout before signing a new contract for a 13.5% two-year wage and benefit increase. Ever since, the morale of flight attendants, a critical factor in marketing, has suffered, and TWA has never regained its prestrike share of the air-trayel market. Lately, with Wiser in charge of operations, management has asked pilots, whose average salary is about \$40,000 a year, to take a 10% pay cut, pointing out that top management has already reduced its own pay. Unpersuaded, the pilots have hired their own financial experts to analyze TWA's books and policies, and they have made

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

it known that they believe the company needs a new management that would, among other things, deal less abrasively with unions.

Exhausted by months of wrestling with all these difficulties. Wiser, 54, caught the industry by surprise with his abrupt decision to quit. His resignation was accepted last week at a directors' meeting in Denvert hat he did not even meeting in Denvert hat he did not even meeting in Denvert hat he did not even in good to company insiders for his feat with the company insiders of the least of Cooke, 57, who has been in poor health recently, was exacertated by internal criticism of a controversial advertising campiagin featuring Actor Peter stang campiagin featuring Actor Peter stanger and the standard peter standard pete

Chairman and Chief Executive Charles C. Tillinghast Jr. temporarily took over Wiser's role as president, but he is scheduled for retirement in January, when he will turn 65. Tillinghast will now almost certainly stay on for a while to bridge the transition to a new management. One pressing issue facing the next chief will be whether to take back the Pacific routes and thus become a global carrier again when the route swap with Pan Am expires within the next two years. Trans World seems likely to continue losing money this year. though its monthly deficits may be smaller. In hopes of bringing a fresh approach to bear on the airline's myriad problems, the board will probably go outside the company to find a replacement for Tillinghast

JAPAN

Taking a Lower Road

The old Japanese definition of "recession"—anything less than 10% annual growth—is now old-hat, Japan is suffering from an unmistakable, deliberately engineered recession, the first step in what Deputy Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda calls a "long and traumatic" transition "to an era of low, stabilized growth."

Early last year the ruling Liberal Democrats determined to put Japan through an anti-inflationary wringer by slashing government spending and boosting interest rates, thus suppressing consumer demand. The policy worked: Japanese wholesale prices, which were zooming up at an annual rate of about 35% a year ago, rose at a yearly pace of less than 4% in May. But industrial production plummeted 21% last year, while capital spending slumped 13% and more than 11,000 companies closed their doors. Even unemployment doubled, to 2.2% in March (joblessness was confined mostly to seasonal and transient laborers). Lately, Japanese businessmen have been accusing the Liberal Democrats of overkill

Last week the sleepy-eyed, 70-yearold Fukuda unveiled a modest package of reflationary measures designed to

mollify his critics. Key elements: \$1.3 billion in new housing loans, \$14.5 billion in public works projects, easier terms on car installment payments, and a pledge to award more government with a slightly easier monetary policy, the measures should be enough to help trigger a modest recovery during the second half of the year (production rates already are inching up, and jobless rates down). But they are hardly sufficient to bring back the halcyon era of doubledigit G.N.P. growth that Japan enjoyed before it was rocked by twin economic shocks in the early 1970s. Dollar devaluations and yen revaluations raised prices of Japanese goods abroad and cut into export earnings: that plus quintupled oil prices touched off the inflationary explosion

Economic Cror. Says Fukuda: "The conomy has suffered deep wounds that will take at least three years to cure." Even after that, in his mind, going back to the old era of hell-for-leather growth would only start "an endless cycle of inflation and deflation." His long-run goal is for the Japanese economy to expand at about a 5% annual rate—only half the average post-World War II pace.

Fukuda seems to have the clous to put his policies through, and lately he has become something of an economic cart. A veteran financial expert and cart. A veteran financial expert and seems of the control of the cont





Accused of overkill

to the little-known Takeo Miki, who, lacking a strong background in economics, has pretty much turned over financial matters to Fukuda

Since Japan nonetheless operates by a consensus system. Fukuda needs cooperation from businessmen and unions to make his program of economic transformation work. Despite some grumbling, he seems to be getting it. Japa-nese workers won a 32.9% across-theboard pay increase last year but agreed to a raise of only 14% this spring. The awesome force of the Japanese work ethic is still evident. Last year hundreds of thousands of employees, protected by lifetime job guarantees, were paid but told not to come to work. Many responded by voluntarily cleaning factories or popping into retail stores to help sell their companies' products. Explained a Matsushita Electric official: "The workers told us they felt guilty that they were letting the company down in the time of its need, and they refused to go home.

Asian Dependent, Fukuda is un. der more pressure abroad, from nations that would like to see the world's third largest economy pumped up faster so that the Japanese can buy more foreign products. At a recent meeting of the 24nation Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris. Japan was criticized indirectly for being overly preoccupied with its domestic economy to the detriment of other Asian nations; those countries have grown dependent on Japanese growth for their own prosperity. Fukuda recognizes that Japan can ill afford beggarthy-neighbor policies. "From now on we all have to cooperate," he concedes "But the first priority is stabilizing the situations within each country." Meaning: Japan can best fulfill its responsibilities to others by keeping its inflation rate down, at the price of slower growth

MILLETONES

Married. Evonne Goolagone, 22 valuation in this week's Wimbledon Tournament; in this week's Wimbledon Tournament; and Roger Cawley, 25 a London metab broker; both for the first time; in Camerbury. England Missing at the surceach who guided Goolagone, who plains to give a constitution victory and recently warned that she would have to choose between love and tennis Goolagone, who plains to give up neither, announced 1-rm doing what I want, and that's

Died. Prince Faisal ibn Musaed. 26. nephew and assassin of Saudi Arabia's King Faisal; in a public beheading in Riyadh's Court of Justice Square (see THI WORLD)

Died. Clint ("Scrap Iron") Courtney, 48, pugnacious American League catcher of the 1950s and early 1960s; of an apparent heart attack; in Rochester. while on the road with the minor-league Richmond Braves, which he had managed since 1973. For more than a decade, Courtney played with six clubs. compiling a record of near-flawless fielding and clutch hitting. A relentless belligerence earned him his nickname and triggered some of baseball's most violent brouhahas, notably a game-stopping 1953 free-for-all at Busch Stadium that began when Courtney, then playing for the old St. Louis Browns, spiked Yankee Shortstop Phil Rizzuto while trying to stretch a single. "There's the meanest man I ever met." said his Browns teammate Satchel Paige. "I'm glad he's on my side."

Died. Sam Giancana, 66, Chicago mobster linked to alleged CIA plots to assassinate Fidel Castro; of seven bullet wounds in the head and neck; in his Oak Park, Ill., home (see THE NATION)

Died. James Phinney Baxter. 82 president of Williams College from 1937 to 1961; in Williamstown, Mass. A 1914 Williams graduate, Maine-born Baxter headed for Wall Street but, after a hour with tuberculosis, turned to teaching history, first at Colorado College, later at Harvard. Brought to Williams as president in 1937, he transformed the college over the next 24 years from an undemanding educational country club where the average grade was D+ to a serious meritocracy by increasing scholarship aid, strengthening the faculty and quadrupling the academic budget. During World War II he was historian for the Office of Scientific Research and Development, gathering material for Scientists Against Time, his 1947 Pulitzer prizewinning study of the wartime technological race between Allied and Axis



Pride lives in the heart, memory lives in the mind. Photographs live forever.



THE THEATER

A Tale of Two Stratfords

Shakespeare did more for the Stratfords of this world than they sometimes do for him. The rites of summer are now upon us, and the Stratfords (Ontario and Connecticut) are presenting their offerings of the Bard with no little honor. Plays by George Bernard Shaw and Thornton Wilder round out the festivities.

ONTARIO

Twelfth Night. Every so often an actor retires a role the way a sports champion retires a trophy. He does not, of course, get permanent possession of the part, but he does get a lasting grip on stick. His successors must always suffer the ordeal of comparison. Even longdead actors exert their possessive prerogatives. Praise a present Hamilet and some olditumer will tell you that Twelfth Night. Brian Bedford retires the Malvolio Cup.

Malvolio is the primmest of puritans the preens before the mirror of his self-approbation. "Holier than thou" drips from every syllable the speaks. He is thus terribly gullible when a trumped-up letter purports to disclose that the lady Olivia, whom he serves as a kind of steward, is desperately in love with him. Bedford purses his lips as if his mouth were pickled in brine. He walks with the grav-

ity of a frozen penguin. His mien alternates between a mask of hauteur and a tickled-pink grin of uncontainable selfadulation. As an actor, he takes the treacherous gamble of playing directly to the audience and makes it pay off in total delight.

The play is as implausible as ever, but rarely has it been given a production of such marvelously sustained enchantment. Duke Orsino (Stephen Macht) is bewitched by the lovely Countess Olivia (Marti Maraden). She, in turn, falls madly in love with Cesario. who is really the shipwrecked Viola (Kathleen Widdoes) in male disguise. Before the plot is piloted to safe harbor. there are mistaken identities to be resolved, twin brother and sister to be reunited, true love's partners to be mated, and the lowbrow comic shenanigans of that Tweedledum-Tweedledee pair Sir Toby Belch (Leslie Yeo) and Sir Andrew Aguecheek (Frank Maraden) to beguile the time. The entire company is rich in skill and works with selfless uni-

ty to bring out the very best in the play. As for Director David Jones and the newly appointed artistic director of the Stratford Festival, Robin Phillips, they have rubbed a theatrical Aladdin's lamp and produced effule

Measure for Measure. A word may be the key to a play. In Cat on a Hot Tin Roof, the key word is mendacity. In Measure for Measure, the key word is seem. Men seem to be what they are not. They delude themselves as to what they are. A form of the word appears in Act I, Scene 3, and it recurs like the tolling of a melancholy bell. Duke Vincentio (William Hutt) has decided to cede his authority for a while to his austere deputy, the rectitudinous Angelo (Brian Bedford). As the lordly duke dons monkish attire (he will seem to be a friar), he implies that he is testing Angelo: "Hence shall we see,/ If power change purpose, what our seemers be." Initially, Angelo acts as severely as we would expect. He condemns Claudio (Stephen Macht) to be executed for the crime of fornication. When Claudio's novitiate sister Isabella (Martha Henry) comes to plead for her brother's life in the white flowing garb of a nun. Angelo proves not to be what he seems

He is consumed with lust, to his own shuddering surpise and chaggin, but he does not bridle his concupiscent desires he issues a quid pro quo: Isabella's virginity for her brother's life. She is appalled and rather folity tells Claudio to be resigned to his death. She is not what she seems, for to a Christian not defiling of the body can remotely affect the integrity of the sold.



GALLOWAY & HELPMANN IN SAINT JOAN A lioness in courage.

Claudio prepares to die, but as beponder the borrow of death, he beg lisabellia to yield hernelf to Angelo. Thus
he, too, is not what he seems, for any
man of honor would prefer death to his
setter's disgrace. Dude Vincentio finally
returns to square these various accounts,
security plays an antique, one growth of the
sourch plays an antique, one death of the
sourch plays an entique, when the duke conclustively proves. "what these our seeners be," for he has not really been
interested in the goodly governance of
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interested in the goodly governance
of one of his subjects, both high and
only according to his own regal whims.

Thanks to Director Robin Phillips and a cast that matches purity of speech with clarity of sense, this comedy from Shakespeare's "black period" glistens with troubling beauty.

Saint Joan. Saintliness, like beauty, exists in the eye of the beholder. There are as many Joans as there are actresses who play her and audiences who see her. But what was Shaw's personal notion of Joan? Using his own inflective emphases, he describes her as a "protestant" and a "nation-alist." She protests against the authority of the church represented by the Archbishop of Rheims (Max Helpmann) in favor of the individual conscience. She subverts the authority of the lords temporal and their feudal privileges by proclaiming the supremacy of the nation-state. Her real visions, then, are of the dawn of the age of democracy, and her real voice is the vox populi. She is, to Shaw, a saint of the downtrodden masses. And in the course of the play, she spouts enough



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THE THEATER

demagogic cant about the rights of the individual to run for office herself

But Joan escapes Shaw's didactic clutches, and that is why audiences love her She is an imp of candor and a lioness in courage. She lacks all humor but makes up for it with backslapping bonhomie. Minutes after she has been ushered into the presence of the Dauphin, she is calling him "Charley."

Pat Galloway's Joan is easually approachable in precisely this way. What Galloway does not project is any hint Galloway does not project is any hint the dm of foreness: reletoris: that dominates this production prevents her from hearing any inner voices. Tom Kneebone makes of the Dauphin a mixture makes of the Dauphin a mixture on white Walliam Needles' inquisitor is magisterially forbidding. The rest of the cast act like shift contenders in a debating context, but that may stem in part contenders of the contenders of the desired of the contenders of the contender

CONNECTICUT

King Lear. This awesome drama sometimes seems to combine the four elements of the ancient world—earth, air fire and water. The elements are not in their benign aspect, however, but viciously, terrifyingly distempered earth as earthquake, air as hurricane, fire holocaust and water as raging flood and water as raging flood earth, bocalmed air, sputtering fire and stagnant water.

Though the cast is far from blameless, the graver error lies with Director Anthony Page. When Lear goes mad on the storm-blistered heath, it is not because his daughters Goneril and Regan have turned their backs on him but because God has. Shakespeare means us to know that the universe itself has reached its apocalyptic hour, and he asks his white-locked King to look upon the dethronement of all order, a grotesque, absurd, horrifying realm of meaninglessness. Instead. Page has encouraged Morris Carnovsky to stress the "foolish fond old man" in Lear, petulant, bewildered and sorely vexed by his daughters' heartless ingratitude. At 77 Carnovsky is a figure of biblical gravity and delivers the lines beautifully in a voice that retains the dark timbre of a cello. But he can no longer vault to Lear's blind splenetic rages.

The daughters scarcely help. Goneril Jane White spits out her lines like a fishwife. As Regan. Maria Tucci seems to be tapping an unseen to ein overwrught pique, and Michele Shay's Corwrught pique, and Michele Shay's Coron's loyal Kent seems equally loyal to Shakespeare. The rest outshine the dark with unlit cander.

Our Town. One does not so much attend this play as visit it the way one would Williamsburg. Grover's Corners is a turn-of-the-century New Hampshire town with its simple verities and its Godfearing townsfolk perfectly restored.

Wilder's is essentially an arrbrushed vision of life The closest Our-Town comes to the problem of evil is a tipsy choirmaster-organist. Insofar as the commonplace, he failed, but in pairing the stamp of value and continuity on everyday life, he succeeded. He celchrates the cycle of growing burth and sufmin love, marrying, giving birth and sufmin love, marrying, giving birth and sufsucceeding the support of the common support of the sum of the common support of the common support of the sum of the common support of the common support of the sum of the common support of the common support of the sum of the common support of the common support of the sum of the common support of the common support of the sum of the common support of the common support of the sum of the common support of the common support of the common support of the sum of the common support of the common support of the common support of the sum of the common support of the common support of the common support of the sum of the common support of the common support of the common support of the common support of the sum of the common support of the co

It is difficult to see how the play could have been revived with more sensitivity and tenderness than Director Michael Kahn has brought to this production. In the key role of the Stage Manager. Fred Gwynne is a standout —tangy, folksy, gossipy, with just the



Ode to Grover's Corners.

right sprinkling of dry New England skepticism. Ruled by clocks, children, husbands

Rulea Dy Clocks, children, husbands and housewifely chores, the neighboring friends, Mrs. Gibbs and Mrs. Webb, are portrayed with affectionate value by Eileen Heckart and Geraldine Fitzgerald Their husbands, played by William Larsen and Lee Richardson, are not slaves but soldiers of duty.

William Bachus is particularly fine as young George Gibbs, discovering life and love with furnbling boyish ardor. Only Kate Mulgrew falters as Emily Webb, the girl George marries. She the third act graveyard sequence, where poignance is what is needed. Otherwise, all is well in Grover's Corners, and the stars are still "doing their old crisscross journeys in the skies."

— Et. Kolem

NAMES OF BRIDE OF

Rumblings About Noise

"A second battle of Gettysburg" is what AFI-CIO Executive George Taylor hyperbolically calls the U.S. Department of Labor hearings that start this week in Washington. At issue: regulation of the amount of noise in U.S. factories, a billion-dollar problem that another AFI-CIO official terms "the most ubiquitous hazard in the workplace."

Since 1971, the Labor Department's Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) has recommended, but barely enforced, a maximum of 90 decibels-the sound of a heavy truck -throughout an eight-hour workday OSHA wants to keep to that level. The Environmental Protection Agency and the labor unions want the limit reduced to 85, the din of a busy street. Many industries are strongly opposed to such regulation and claim it would be ruinous. The noise level now registers about 105 decibels next to the looms in a textile mill, and 115 close to an automobile factory's high-speed metal presses An OSHA study has estimated that it would cost \$13.5 billion for 19 major industries to comply with a decibel level of 90, and \$31 billion to meet the lower level of 85. President Ford has publicly asked: "Is it worth [that much] to reduce the level of occupational noise?

Hearing Loss. On the opposing side of the OSHA hearings, the EPA has worked out statistics to show that the risk of hearing loss is twice as high at 90 decibels as at 85. Both the EPA and the unions argue that noise can also cause cardiovascular problems, partial loss of vision and mental disturbance. Aside from the effects of noise, there

is sharp disagreement on how those damages should be prevented. OSHA recommends that industry provide acoustical shielding and other engineering changes, and that it rotate work shifts to limit the number of hours an employee can work in a noisy area. Industry argues that a far easier and more economical method would be to require workers to wear earplugs or muffs. Labor retorts that "personal protection," as it is called. can be dangerous. Says the AFL-CIO's Sheldon W. Samuels: "There is a documented case of a man killed by a forklift because with his car muffs on he did not hear the warning bell." Samuels also argues that plugs "dehumanize a worker half his waking day. If industry thinks they are going to make our people animals, they're nuts."

The final rulings will probably not be issued until this fall, and real results may take years longer. But if OSHA has its way, workers will have one protective measure fairly soon. Among the agency's top priorities is a regulation that workers exposed to more than 85 decibels be given periodic hearing tests.

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ENVIRONMENT

Greening the Strip Mines

Adman William G. ("Turk") Jones decided he had had enough of the frenzied pace of Madison Avenue: "Learning to shave on airplanes," as he puts it. So he quit his job in Manhattan, sold his house in the suburbs and in 1946 moved his family to a farm in central Pennsylvania. Then he began to do what he had always wanted-plant trees Jones had a green thumb, his seedlings thrived, and word of his tree farm began to spread. Consequently, after Pennsylvania passed a law in 1948 requiring strip miners to refill and replant the land they had ravaged for coal, company officials came to him for help. "Won't be a damned thing grow," they said. "But go ahead and plant it. That's the law." Under Turk's care, things grew

As consultant to the Central Pennsylvania Open Pit Mining Association. Jones, now 70, has directed teams that have successfully planted 36 million trees on strip-mined land in 17 counties. His accomplishments have won over some formerly implacable foes of surface mining who now agree with Jones that the technique has its place —as long as the spoil banks turn green again. "Coal for today timber for tomorrow." Jones suys chercilus.

His best proof that the damage can be undone is his second farm, a 1,300acre property that he bought in 1951. not long after coal miners had gouged and abandoned 800 acres of its coalbearing land. Crisscrossed by enormous rock-strewn furrows, the land had no cover of vegetation, no wildlife-not even insects. With help from the U.S. Forest Service and Penn State University. Jones imported and planted carefully selected species of trees from all over the world, seeking out those that might grow in the acid, stony soil. He brought in evergreens-pines from Austria, Scotland and Norway. Douglas fir from the Pacific Northwest-because they hide the still-furrowed landscape all year round. He planted Chinese chestnuts, which also thrive in otherwise inhospitable earth, and hybrid poplars that grow so quickly "you have to jump back after planting them so that you don't get poked in the eye." Today the farm is thick with healthy trees

One Liners. Forestry officials estimate that Jones' experiments with yarious trees have sped the reforestation of Pennsylvania's spoil banks by at least 50 years, an achievement that has earned him a roomful of conservation and forestry awards. He shares his findings with anybody who wants them. Every year about 2.000 visitors—university agronomists. Government foresters and ordinary citizens—come to see his farm and meet the adman turned agrariant.

Turk is an enthusiastic guide who leavens his tours with puns and one-lin-



Coal today, timber tomorrow.

ers. Sample: "Have you heard about the tree that didn't know whether it was a son of a birch or a son of a beech?" But he is serious about spreading the word that trees can repair the land, and has even written and published a book. The New Forest. describing his experiences the book is dedicated to the spirit of the book is dedicated to the spirit of the playered." Those words could just a easily describe Turk Jones words.



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LAST SURVIVORS OF THE STONE AGE TASADAY TRIBE

Primitive Art

by JOHN NANCE 465 pages. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

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Dafa (sund them Stick-thija and Leunr-eyed, he was the Daniel Boone of southern Mindanao, a solitary Filipina who wandered an unexplored 600-sq mi. tract of rugged mountain jungle. On day in the early 606-she followed a trail of strange footprints. There small brown men, maked except for John pouches men, maked except for John pouches proto with a sharp stick. When the protor with a sharp stick. When the proton with a sharp stick. When the proton with a sharp stick. When the proton the proton with a sharp stick. When the proton with a sharp stick. When more stopped in a stream bed, trembling, reassurance, Dafal gave chase until the men stopped in a stream bed, trembling.

Fresh Air. The aborigines, who called themselves Tasaday (pronounced Taw-sawdai), did well to tremble. The most primitive human beings so far discovered on this guilty planet had turned to face the 20th century. There was culture shock on both sides. The Tasaday discovered evil: the rest of us discovered good in a form so pure it seemed almost incredible to a civilization that had long since abandoned Rousseau's conception of the Noble Savage. Biblically reminded that "the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked," assured by anthropologists that Homo sapiens is descended from a killer ape, shocked by recent accounts of a primitive Ugandan culture based on sadism (TIMI Nov. 20, 1972), modern man is inclined to sniff suspiciously at any breath of air from the morning of the world. But this air is genuine and fresh

In The Gentle Tasaday, the story of the institute unspoiled aborigines is told for the first time with energy and detail by John Nance, an American reporter stationed in Manila. With critical judgment, eyewitness authority, literary gracelessness and barreling narrative excitement, he

has made a ragged classic of popular anthropology It took ten years for Dafal's

It took ten years for Dalal's stories about the forest people to reach the Filipino commissioner for minorities. a hard-working young millionaire named Manuel Elizalde Jr. Alarmed because logging companies were cutting

ging companies were cutting roads in through the Tasaday retreat, the official ordered Dafal to bring the tribe out for a meeting. Stone axes in hand, they stood like figures in an Erich von Daink, stood like figures in an Erich von Daink, the en fantasy as Etiralde descended from the heavens in his helicopter. They immediately dubbed him Mono Daink Diwata Tasaday (Big Sacred Bird of the Tasaday)

With the help of Biti interpreters whose language is distantly akin to Ta-saday, communication slowly began The primitives had no weapons, no agriculture, no art. no religion, no words for bad, enemy, war or kill. For good and beautiful they used the same term mai/on. They loved the jungle: open country was "where the eye sees too far Happiness flooded their lives. The laughed and hugged and nuzzled by the hour

After several meetings. Elizalde and Nance flew into the secret valley of the Tasaday. High on a cliff, in a cave about 50 ft. wide and 30 ft. deep small groups sat talking by several fires. Children climbed a smooth rock and laughed as they sild down. One boy flew a pet butterfly on a string, like a kie. The floor of the cavern was regularly swept with branches, but no improvements had been made.

The valley was an Eden filled with

useful plants and watered by a rushing stream. Usually, the men gathered food and the women looked after the children, but the roles were often reversed Every adult, male or female, had an equal voice in the decisions of the group

The strongest individual was a wom-



GRIMACING AT HELICOPTER

an named Dul; the most imaginative was Balayam. a prehistoric poet. Asked to define the soul. Balayam said softly. "The soul may be the part of you that sees the dream."

Of the 25 Tasaday the visitors count-

ed, several had medical problems: goiter, hernia, bronchitis. But even though the Tasaday det seemed low in calories (1,000-1,500 a day), there was no malnutrition, no tooth decay, no malaria, no tuberculosis. During the three years covered by this book, only one Tasaday died, apparently by accident

Sharp Looks. Women were a dilemna for the Tasaday. Forbidden by custom to intermarry, the men had found wives among the Tasafeng and the Sunduka. two similar forest tribes. But these groups had recently disappeared Impulsively. Elizalde imported a girl from a tribe outside the forest. Balayam woosed her with tenderness and sensibility. The whole tribe celebrated the wedding by gathering around the couple and murmuring. "Maleron, maleron"

By far the biggest problem in the Tasaday's life was the outsiders who had come barging into it. Several dozen soientists and journalists and film people passed through. Everybody asked questions (Scientist: "Do you talk to rocks?" Balayam, startled: "No. do you talk to rocks?" Balayam, startled: "No. do you talk to rocks?" We will go back to the stump of our recks?"). Finally, the Tasaday rehelled. "We will go back to the stump of our feelings," one of them said firmly. Another told Elizalde his people were tired of the "loud voices and sharp tooks."

They never understood all the dangers implied by those looks. After President Ferdinand Marcos established a How to tap a great tradition.



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May 23, 1975

46,000-acre forest reserve around the Tasaday, eight heavily armed Ubu killers, possibly in the pay of logging interests, invaded the forest. At the foot of the Tasaday cliff, guards drove then off. The Tasaday only blinked vaguely. They had no word for violence.

With all its problems, progress seemed to please the Tasaday. They liked the steek knives that made it easier to get palm pith, the flashlights that helped them hunt frogs on dark nights. In the Big Sacred Bird they found a focus for feelings that other societies have directed to God.

Inevitably, the day came when even dod was not enough. Stirred by the inquiring spirit of their visitors, they creached for the forbidden fruit of knowl-edge. One night, speaking for all the Tacquest of the spirit of the spiri

Young Frankenstein

SHELLEY: THE PURSUIT

829 pages, Illustrated, Dutton, \$22,50.

One month before his 30th birthday in 1822, Percy Bysake Shelley drowned in a sailing accident on the Mediterranean. Back in London, the Gentleman is Magazine harrumphed: "We ought as justily to reper the decease of the Devill." A far different post-mortem came from Lord Byron, who called Shelley "The and the least selfish man I ever the control of the control of

Byron's view prevailed. By tearing out passages from diaries and journals and keeping the lid on their less savory memories, Shelley's intimates created a marzipan myth to be consumed in Victorian parlors. The poet, so the story went, was only nominally a seducer, deface bigamist and flaming revolutionary. In reality he was, as Matthew Arnold wrote, "an inteffectual angular view production and view of the view of the

This first large life of Shelley since 1940 offers a "darker and more earthly. crueler and more capable figure." Richard Holmes, a British journalist, believes that if the writer was "essentially unstable," he was also the most premonitory radical theorist of his age. During a short life, Shelley either advocated or dabbled in vegetarianism, communal living, free love and the redistribution of wealth. Bisexuality as well as homosexuality intrigued him, and he championed women's rights. When war was still glamorized, he raged: "Man has no right to kill his brother. It is no excuse that he does so in uniform; he only adds the infamy of servitude to the crime of murder



CONTEMPORARY PORTRAIT OF SHELLEY Decease of the Devil.

Writing to older correspondents, Shelley blanched demurely at the thought of class uprisings. Yet when deeper thoughts were goaded out of him, they bore bloodstains. In 1819, after demonstrating workers in Manchester were annihilated in the Peterloo massacre. Shelley roared:

Rise like lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number—
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you—
Ye are many—they are few.

What possessed Shelley' Holme has tried to find the answer by retracing a path trampled flat by idolateral part trampled flat by idolateral flat by the state of the state of

The pumphleteer promptly ran of with If-year-old Harriet Westbrook, daughter of a London tavertkeeper. With Harriet came an older sister, cager to protect this new family tie with the aristocracy, plus Thomas Jefferson Hogg, Shelley's best friend at Oxford. The odd menage was shattered several years later when Shelley met Mary God-with the transparent of the genteel radical, William Cockwin, He clopped with the regenerously intiting Harriet to join them as a "spiritual" sisters She refused Shelley and his new entourage set out

on years of restless travel, ending with the drowning that, Holmes suggests, Shelley half courted

The book expertly snares the incendiary decades into which the poet was born, when the French Revolution and the writings of Rousseau encouraged an apocal pipt be reak with the past. Holmes revives and justifiably praises Shelley's neglected political pamphlets and soutly defends the poetry and south of the pipt of t

Shelley preached the abolition of class distinctions but treated debts to mere tradesmen with aristocratic disdain. He wallowed in sensuality but complained prudishly that a woman's body is a 'llump of gra sourcess to her soul. Mary Shelley recognized her husband's divided nature best and captured it in her novel Frankenstein. part of Shelley can be seen in

the Faustian, idealistic doctor and part in his monster, an innocent but violent outcast from the society of men. Holmes cannot quite put these contradictory pieces together—but then neither could Shelley. *Paul Gray

Best Sellers

FICTION

1—The Moneychangers, Hailey (1

last week)
2—Shardik, Adams (2)
3—Centennial, Michener (3)
4—The Dreadful Lemon Sky,

MacDonald (5) 5—The Promise of Joy, Drury (4)

5—The Promise of Joy, Drury (4) 6—The Massacre at Fall Creek, West (6)

West (6)
7—Looking for Mr. Goodbar,
Rossner (9)
8—A Month of Sundays, Updike (7)

9—Spindrift, Whitney (8) 10—Maise and the World of Reason. Williams

NONFICTION

1-Breach of Faith, White (1)

2—Conversations with Kennedy, Bradlee (4) 3—Total Fitness, Morehouse &

3—Total Fitness, Morehouse & Gross (2) 4—The Bermuda Triangle,

Berlitz (3) 5—The Ascent of Man. Bronowski (5)

6—How the Good Guys Finally Won, Breslin (8) 7—Here at The New Yorker,

Gill (6) 8—Helter Skelter: The True Story of the Manson Murders, Bugliosi

of the Manson Murders, Buglios with Gentry (7) 9—Kate, Higham (10) 10—TM: Discovering Inner Energy

10—TM: Discovering Inner Energy and Overcoming Stress, Bloomfield, Cain & Jaffe (9)

Baying Through Russia

LOVE AND DEATH

Directed and Written by WOODY ALLEN

"Everyone has to go some time," sighs the condemned man. "I have to

go at 6 a.m. It was 5 a.m., but I have a good lawyer.

The speaker could only be Woody Allen, disguised this time as Boris, a 19th century Slav. The label reads "Made in Czarist Russia," but the contents show Allen's familiar shlemiel ticket: the loser, surrounded by a world of hostile, if inanimate, objects.

Seated in his cell, the prisoner has two hours to review his life. He pans it. As a boy, Boris has a vision of Death The embryo philosopher immediately penetrated to the heart of the mystery. What happens after life? He demanded For example, are there girls? As Boris matures he embraces three things: cowardice, ineptitude and women. "My room at midnight," a countess breathes in his ear. "Perfect," returns the hero.

"Will you be there too? One-Liners. Neither mistresses nor the fact that he kept a light on in his room until he was 30 is enough to keep the coward from combat. It is on the battlefield, with some astonishingly evocative camera work, that the director-writer-star sends up Russian literature and never lets it come down. It is as if one of Isaac Bashevis Singer's Ha-

sidic schoolboys were managing Tol-

stoy's estate and Dostoevsky's psycho-



She is Sonja (Diane Keaton), an arouseful little blouseful who confesses that she has been faithful to the male population west of Minsk. The lovers are poor but wretched, living only on snow and an occasional treat of sleet. To relieve the chill, they engage in those favorite occupations of Russian novelists, the epistemological debate and the religious monologue. "Socrates is a man; all men

are mortal; therefore all men are Socrates," concludes Boris. It is this kind of syllogism that moves him to assassinate Napoleon, an adventure that ends, of course, with the wrong man slain. No matter. A celestial sign appears and Boris trills: "I will run, not walk through the valley of the shadow of death ... I will dwell in the house of the Lord for six months with an option to buy

Two Keatons. It must be said that at bottom-which is exactly 5 ft. 6 in. from the top-Allen has not altered in technique since his earliest films. The only plot that ever concerns him is the one in which he will be buried. His persona is still the kind of man whose profile should not be painted but wallpapered. His situations continue to bear traces of two Keatons. In this case, Buster is the right source; Diane is not. Allen's longtime companion is saddled with lines that make her Groucho in bombazine ("Thank you, your grubbiness"). Because she cannot generate a style of her own. Keaton soon draws attention to the film maker's weakness: his movies, populated solely with Woody Allens, are like Walt Disney's old Goofy cartoons, in which every character as-

sumed the lineaments of the hero. Even so, there can never be a true surplus of Woody Allen. The man is perhaps the most inventive clown since the

days of the silents. Indeed, much of the movie could be played without a sound track. With such assets, it seems a pity that too much of Allen's comedy, with its incessant references to delicatessen, Jewish parents and neurotic hang-ups, remains on the streets of Manhattan

It is, evidently, the price one pays for an Allen comedy. It is worth the fee. For unlike his closcinematic competitor, Mel Brooks, Allen aims his custard pies



WOODY ABOUT TO BE LAUNCHED INTO BATTLE Unlucky Boris at Borodino.

up, not down. If his humor is merciless, it is not unkind; Boris' angry monologues with God are closer to Fiddler on the Roof than to comic on the make. The same affection courses through his parodies of Fellini and Bergman and of Pierre at Borodino. In mocking classics. in touching on the topics of religion and mortality, Allen has drawn laughter where there was silence and mustaches where there were faces.

Father Ronald Knox once observed "The humorist runs with the hare: the satirist hunts with the hounds." Baying through this Russian blizzard of hilarity. Woody Allen, former rabbit, is at least trying to create a beagle. The fact that most of the time it comes out bagel should not discourage him. In any Allen film there can be only one winner: the viewer Stefan Konfer

Allen has a book out too. Without Feathers (Random House; \$7.95) is a series of sketches that show the author as a gentle practitioner of the short-haired shaggy-dog story. Most of them should be read as experiments rather than as polished pieces of comic ingenuity. One essay, for example, "If the Impressionists Had Been Dentists," imagines that Vincent Van Gogh is a dentist obsessed with bridgework and X rays as art for art's sake.

Few of the miscellaneous jottings and parodies are as hilarious as Love and Death. Allen offers a menagerie of mythical beasts: the Great Roe has "the head of a lion and the body of a lion. though not the same lion." "The Whore of Mensa" wittily plays with the idea of a brothel for intellectual entertainment. The madam has a master's degree in comparative literature; for a price, a curvaceous Vassar student can be had for an hour's chat about Herman Melville: 'symbolism is extra.'



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